THE

LIFE

OF

Oliver Cromwell,

LORD PROTECTOR of the Commonwealth of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland.*

CONTAINING

A juſt ACCOUNT of all his military Exploits, and ſurprizing Succeſs during the Civil Wars of *England* in his Time; together with his great Zeal for the Honour and Intereſt of *England*; the Glory of the Proteſtant Religion, and the LIBERTIES and PROPERTIES of Mankind in general.

By a GENTLEMAN of *Oxford.*

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THE LIFE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland.*

THE many diſturbances and revolutions in this kingdom from the year 1640 to 1660, cannot be parallelled in hiſtory, and which, I believe, have been the cauſe of more inveterate parties than any other our chronicle can produce. The notions of divine right, and abſolute unlimited power were carried to a great height during king *Charles* II. and his brother's reign, by the court and the corrupt part of the clergy, that it was not ſurpriſing, that the real friends of liberty ſhould become the object of their hatred, and be ſtigmatized as ſo many enemies to the government; and that all the miſchiefs of a civil war, which a weak and ill-adviſed king had been brought into by his wicked and ambitious miniſters, ſhould be charged on thoſe principles which alone could preſerve a harmony between the ſovereign and his people. And while the accuſations ran ſo high in general, it was not likely that particular characters ſhould eſcape their virulent cenſures; eſpecially thoſe who

who had been concerned in the adminiſtration of affairs during the king's exile, were to be ſtrip'd of every human virtue, and, if poſſible, made to appear worſe than canibals. Their ſobriety, temperance, juſtice, moderation, piety, were to be repreſented only as hypocriſy and affectation. OLIVER CROMWELL, muſt certainly ſtand foremoſt in the black liſt. It was not enough to call him uſurper, tyrant, and traitor, but even thoſe very perſonal qualities which enabled him to ſupport the firſt character in the age, were to be rendered contemptible and odious: A mighty odd way of proceeding! to perſuade us that a man, without a capacity requiſite for a trading juſtice, ſhould be not only too hard for the royal family, but even for all the miniſters and crwoned heads with whom he had to do; ſhould be more exact in the adminiſtration of juſtice than any ſovereign who had gone before him; ſhould chuſe out capable and worthy men for all employments, ſo as to give univerſal ſatisfaction. Notwithſtanding all this, we have been taught to believe that *Cromwell* was poſſeſſed of no real virtues, civil or military; yet acted more like a perſon poſſeſſed of them all, than any other ever met with in hiſtory.

But facts are ſo very hard to get over, that it is vain to endeavour to ſtifle them. The moſt prejudiced writers, have mentioned ſome of the exploits of this our *Engliſh* hero, as plainly ſhew their characters of him to be very partial; for, even in the very pictures of their own invention, they have not been able to avoid ſome lineaments that contradict the idea they give of him, and prove him to be another ſort of a man than they are willing the public ſhould believe him to be: But the preſent age begins to ſee thro' all their ſophiſtry, and the name of *Cromwell* is now thought an honour to the nation.

Being born a private gentleman, he could by no means have a right to the ſovereign power. This maxim has been much contended for under heredi-

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tary governments, and would have been univerſally received, if reaſon did not prove the abſurdity of it. But the moſt candid diſquiſitions of the matter, founded on the common ſenſe of mankind, have long ago convineed the unprejudiced, that no individual, however nobly born, has a right over the perſon or property of another except by a mutual compact, entered into for a general benefit, the conditions of which are equally binding on both ſides. Therefore, no perſon is any way ſuperior or inferior to each other, but on ſuch conditions as they reciprocally agree to. It is only to prevent the confuſion that riches or ambition might create among perſons equally qualified, that the ſovereignty has been ſettled in particular families. It is only for conveniency, that the ſucceſſion ſhould remain uninterrupted as long as it is conſiſtent with the good of people in general. But where it is infringed, the obligation is void, the people are free, and may either chuſe a new form of government, or put their old into other hands.

Where this happens, the choice, for very good reaſons, generally fall on ſome one of the greateſt fortune and abilities: But this cannot be attributed to any real right in the perſon, unleſs we ſuppoſe authority to be the neceſſary reſult of riches, which would create more confuſion than any other ſyſtem yet extant. In ſhort, the natural and moral qualifications of the perſon, where the choice is entirely free, are the beſt recommendations to the community, whoſe conſent alone can conſtitute a lawful authority. If therefore, it can be proved, that *Cromwell* had more of theſe qualifications than any man in his time, and as much of this conſent, it will do an act of juſtice to his character, which is as yet wanting.

This great man was very well deſcended: The original name of his family was not *Cromwell*, but *Williams*. *Morgan Williams*, ſon and heir of *Williams*, married the ſiſter of the famous lord *Cromwell*, who

who was made earl of *Eſſex* by king *Henry* VIII. By her he had a ſon named *Richard*, who was knighted by king *Henry*, and took the name of his uncle *Cromwell*, tho' he kept the arms of *Williams*. He married *Frances*, daughter and coheir of ſir *Thomas Murſyn*; and on the diſſolution of the monaſteries, obtained all the lands that belonged to them in *Huntingdonſhire*, which amounted to a vaſt ſum. This ſir *Richard Cromwell*, at a ſolemn triumph held at *Weſtminſter*, in 1540, before king *Henry* VIII. and which was proclaimed in *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland* and *Flanders*, overthrew two of the combatants, mr. *Palmer* and mr *Cuſpey*. He had a ſon, *Henry*, who was knighted by queen *Elizabeth* in the ſixth year of her reign. This ſir *Henry* married *Joan*, daughter and heir of ſir *Ralph Warren*, and reſided chiefly at *Hinchinbrook*, where had been a houſe of nuns. He is ſaid to have been a worthy gentleman, and lived in great eſteem both at court and in his country. The father of our protector, *Robert Cromwell*, eſq; was ſecond ſon of ſir *Henry*. There were five more: ſir *Oliver* was the eldeſt, who had a vaſt eſtate, and after whom his nephew *Oliver* ſeems to be named: the others were *Henry*, *Richard*, *Philip*, and *Ralph*. We read of ſir *Oliver*, that at his houſe at *Hinchinbrook*, on the acceſſion of king *James* I. he made the moſt noble entertainment that ever was made by any ſubject, in honour of his ſovereign.—Mr. *Milton* calls his houſe "noble and "illuſtrious;" and ſays, "the name was famous in "*England*, when well-governed by kings; but more "ſo for orthodox religion."

Mr. *Robert Cromwell*'s eſtate was much inferior to his brother's: for he had not quite 350 *l. per annum*, when his wife, daughter of ſir *Richard Steward*, brought him a ſon that was to have at his command the perſons and fortunes of three wealthy kingdoms. It was the 25th of *April* 1599, that this prodigy came into the world, at *Huntingdon*, where his father then reſided. As the accounts we have of him during

during his minority are imperfect and not material, eſpecially as he never diſtinguiſhed himſelf till he was call'd upon to do it in a public character, we only know that his father took care of his education, ſent him to the univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he ſeem'd to incline more to an active, robuſt, than ſpeculative life: notwithſtanding, his advancement in learning were not deſpiſable, ſince it is evident he was maſter of a very genteel ſtile. He run into ſeveral exceſſes when he left *Cambridge* after his father's death, which occaſion'd his mother to ſend him to *Lincoln's-Inn*. But the law not agreeing with him, and having about 500 *l. per annum*, left him by his uncle, ſir *Richard Steward*, beſides what he enjoyed at his father's death, he ſettled in the country, and grew very religious. For ſome time after his reformation he adhered to the eſtabliſh'd church of *England*, but afterwards fell in with the puritans.

The grievances of the people were at this time many and great, occaſioned by the encroachments of the court and thoſe godly men the clergy, on evey part of civil as well as religious liberty. *Cromwell*'s engaging on the puritan ſide, at his firſt coming into the houſe of commons, made him ſtickle for the country intereſt. He was one of the committee of religion in king *Charles*'s third parliament; and made himſelf be taken notice of by the people, as a perſon zealous for the true intereſt of his country. But what made him ſtill more popular, was his oppoſing that undertaking in which the king himſelf was concerned, for draining the fens in *Lincolnſhire* and the *Iſle of Ely*. At this time, by heading the people of *Cambridge*, he got to be one of their burgeſſes, to ſerve in the parliament of 1640, called the long parliament.

In this parliament he ſhewed himſelf a zealous oppoſer of the public grievances. The whole ſenate indeed, were earneſtly bent on proſecuting the affair. No age ever produced greater men than thoſe who

who ſat in this parliament: they had ſufficient abilities and inclinations to render the king and their country happy, if the nation had not been, through a chain of concurring accidents, ripened for deſtruction. At their firſt meeting, a terrible ſcene of grievances, under which the people had long groaned, was laid open, and painted out in the livelieſt colours. The many cruelties and illegal practices of the ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſion courts, were now inſiſted on to be thrown down, as being two arbitrary tribunals; and ſoon after, the biſhops out of the houſe of peers, and at length epiſcopacy itſelf out of the church. All the great patriots concurred to make an enquiry into the grievances of this reign. Sir *Edward Hyde*, afterwards earl of *Clarendon*, and lord chancellor; the lord *Digby*; the lord *Falkland*; the lord *Chapel*; mr. *Grimſtone*, who was afterwards ſpeaker of the houſe of commons when king *Charles* the ſecond was brought in; mr. *Hollis*, afterwards lord *Hollis*; and in general, moſt of thoſe who took the king's part in the ſucceeding war, were the men that appeared with the greateſt zeal for the redreſs of grievances, and made the nobleſt ſpeeches upon theſe ſubjects. The intentions of thoſe gentlemen were evidently noble and juſt, and tended equally to the advantage of the king and the ſubject; but the fate of the kingdom puſhed on its ruin gradually, till an open rupture between the king and the parliament made the gap too wide ever to be made up.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, earl of *Stafford*, and dr. *Laud*, archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had ſo great a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, that they could not eſcape being cenſured; and they were the firſt that felt the effects of a popular hatred. Theſe two gentlemen, and *James* duke of *Hamilton*, firſt adviſed king *Charles* to call this parliament; and all three fell by it tho' at different times.

King *Charles* now, from the neceſſity of the times, did every thing to ſatisfy the parliament; he paſſed

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the bill for attainting the earl of *Strafford*, tho' with reluctancy, as believing he did not deſerve it: he took away monopolies, which had been a great diſcouragment to trade: he expreſſed himſelf to their ſatisfaction in reſpect to loan, ſhip-money, tonage, &c. and other arbitrary methods that had been made uſe of in raiſing of money; and ſhewed a reſolution to comply with them, in every thing that might tend to the eaſe and proſperity of his ſubjects. In the preceding parliament he paſſed the petition of right, and in the beginning of this, he agreed to the acts for triennial parliaments, and for aboliſhing the ſtar-chamber, and high-commiſſion courts, which had been very great grievances; and with chearfulneſs paſſed that act which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own prerogative, "That, that parliament ſhould "not be diſſolved but by act of parliament; nor "prorogued but by their own conſent."

The king having, upon theſe conceſſions, received the thanks of both houſes, and the loud applauſes of the people, took a tour to *Scotland* in *Auguſt* 1641, to ſettle affairs there, that kingdom having juſt before been at war with *England*, on account of the oppreſſions introduced there. He left the parliament ſitting, which continued ſo till *October*. At the king's going, affairs had been ſettled between the two kingdoms, and both armies diſbanded.

But while the king was in *Scotland*, the *Iriſh* rebellion broke out, which made new work for the parliaments of both kingdoms. He ſeemingly took meaſures in *Scotland* about ſuppreſſing it, and is ſaid to have made haſte back to *England* to concert with the parliament about it. He did not act, however, with that vigour, as to convince every one of his ſincerity in the affair: and it very plainly appeared that the queen, who very much governed his majeſty, kept a private correſpondence with lord *Antrim*, the chief agent in that maſſacre. Nevertheleſs the king was received at his return to *London*, with all the demonſtrations of joy and affection imaginable.

The lord mayor and aldermen, the nobility, gentry, and train'd-bands, met him without the city, and conducted him in great ſtate, amidſt the acclamations of the people, the city companies lining the ſtreets on each ſide, to *Guildhall*, where he was elegantly entertain'd at dinner, and in the evening conducted with the ſame grandeur to *Whitehall*.

" What man, ſays doctor *Wellwood*, that had " ſeen a prince thus received into his capital city, " could have imagined that within leſs than ſeven " weeks he ſhould be obliged to leave it upon the " account of tumults, never to ſee it again, but as " a priſoner brought hither to die upon a ſcaffold? " yet this was king *Charles*'s hard fate.

The houſe of commons had begun a few days before his return, to fall into diſputes about religion; the rebellion in *Ireland*; plots ſaid to be concerted in *Scotland*; the diſabling of the clergy to exerciſe temporal juriſdiction; and excluding the biſhops from votes in parliament: all which things, together with ſome reports that were ſpread about a deſign againſt the parliament, made the houſe reſolve upon that remarkable petition and remonſtrance of the ſtate of the nation, in which they mentioned all the miſmanagements in the government ſince the king's coming to the throne, and attributed it all to evil councillors about the king. The billeting ſoldiers contrary to law, the diſſolution of parliaments, the ſevere impriſonment of ſeveral members, the raiſing of money by unparliamentary methods, violent proſecutions for non-payment, arbitrary proceedings in the courts of law, the late behaviour and doctrines of the high-flown clergy, and the continuance of thoſe abuſes ſince the late conceſſions, were ſome of the topicks inſiſted on. This remonſtrance met with great oppoſition in the houſe, the debate laſting from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten next morning, when it paſſed by a ſmall majority. It was preſented to the king in eight days after his return from *Scotland*. This petition

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and remonſtrance, together with the king's anſwer to them at their delivery, and his declaration publiſhed afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, contain all the matters of thoſe fatal differences that happened in a ſhort time after to be decided by the ſword.

Cromwell greatly promoted this remonſtrance, for we have this remarkable paſſage concerning him, whilſt it was in agitation. A day having been appointed for re-taking it into conſideration, upon its not being called for till late, it was put off till next morning: upon which, *Cromwell* aſked lord *Falkland*, why he was for deferring it, ſince that day would have put an end to the buſineſs. His lordſhip anſwered, "There will not be time enough; for ſure "it will take up ſome debate." To which the other replied, "A ſorry one:" concluding it would be oppoſed by very few. But the day after it was over, when there was ſo hard a ſtruggle that it paſſed only by a majority of nine, lord *Falkland* aſked mr. *Cromwell* if there had been a debate. "Yes, "ſaid he, and I will take your word another time." Then whiſpering the lord *Falkland*, he added, "If the remonſtrance had not paſſed, I would have "ſold all I had next morning, and have never ſeen "*England* more; and I know many other honeſt "men that were of the ſame reſolution."

Some years before this, on account of the ſevere proceedings of archbiſhop *Laud* againſt the puritans, *Cromwell* had formed a deſign, together with ſeveral other gentlemen of fortune and worth, to go to the *American* plantations: which deſign they were very near putting in execution, being only prevented by a proclamation and order of council, when they were actually embarked, in order to tranſport themſelves. This ſhews, that *Cromwell*, at that time, as well as the other excellent perſons, acted from a principle of conſcience in his oppoſition againſt the court, which, without diſpute, had been guilty of numberleſs oppreſſions: and by theſe means his reputation increaſed, as a ſteady and zealous patriot.

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Things were now going faſt on towards leſſening the confidence betwixt the king and parliament: and yet there were not wanting endeavours, on both ſides, to accommodate matters by the moſt healing methods, when the king's coming to the houſe of commons in perſon, to demand the five following members, viz. mr. *Pym*, mr. *Hampden*, mr. *Hollis*, mr. *Heſlerig*, and mr. *Strode*, whom he ordered the day before to be impeached of high treaſon, put all into confuſion, and gave occaſion to the houſe to aſſert their privileges with greater vigour than ever. This was the moſt unlucky ſtep king *Charles* could poſſibly make at this juncture: and the indiſcretion of ſome that attended the king to the lobby of the houſe, was inſiſted upon as an argument that the king was reſolved to uſe violence upon the parliament. Theſe five members had hardly time to make their eſcape, juſt when the king was entering; and upon his going away, the houſe adjourn'd in a flame for ſome days, ordering a committee to ſit at *Guildhall* in the mean time, not thinking themſelves ſafe at *Weſtminſter*.

Whoever adviſed the king to this ſtep, are juſtly chargeable with all the blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this action was the firſt viſible ground of all our following troubles. It was believed, that if the king had found the five members in the houſe, and had called in his guards to ſeize them, the houſe would have made a defence, and oppoſed force to force, which might have endangered the king's perſon. But the conſequences were bad enough without this, for immediately after there was nothing but confuſion and tumults, fears and jealouſies ſpread every where; ſo that his majeſty not thinking himſelf ſafe, retired with his family to *Hampton-court*.

The king leaving his parliament in this manner, there were hardly any hopes of a reconciliation. But when his majeſty, after many removes from place to place, came to ſet up his ſtandard at *Nottingham*, there enſued a fatal and bloody war, which, it is reaſonable

ſonable to believe, was never deſigned at firſt by either ſide.

I ſhall not take upon me to give a particular account of this war, but take notice only of ſuch undoubted facts in which *Cromwell* was perſonally concerned, as help to ſet his character in a clear light. But I ſhall firſt add a few reflections of the great mr. *Locke*, in his ſecond eſſay on government, in defence of ſubjects taking arms againſt their prince; and leave it to the reader's opinion, how far they regard the preſent caſe, and may be urged in vindication of *Cromwell*, and the other members of this famous parliament.

" Whereſoever law ends, ſays this great and excellent reaſoner, tyranny begins, if the law be tranſgreſſed to another's harm. And whoever in authority exceeds the power given him by law, and makes uſe of the force he has under his command, to compaſs that upon the ſubject which the law allows not, ceaſes in that to be a magiſtrate; and acting without authority, may be oppoſed, as any other man, who invades the right of another. This is acknowledged in ſubordinate magiſtrates. He that hath authority to ſeize my perſon in the ſtreet, may be oppoſed as a thief or a robber, if he endeavours to break into my houſe to execute a writ, notwithſtanding that I know he has ſuch a warrant, and ſuch a legal authority, as will impower him to arreſt me abroad. And why this ſhould not hold in the higheſt, as well as in the moſt inferior magiſtrate, I ſhould gladly be informed. Is it reaſonable that the eldeſt brother, becauſe he has the greateſt part of his father's eſtate, ſhould thereby have a right to take away any of the younger brother's portions? or that a rich man, who poſſeſſed a whole country, ſhould from thence have a right to ſeize, when he pleaſed, the garden and cottage of his poor neighbour? The being rightfully poſſeſſed of great power and riches, exceedingly beyond the greateſt part of the ſons of *Adam*, is ſo far from being an excuſe, much

much leſs a reaſon, for rapine and oppreſſion, which the endamaging another without authority is, that it is a great aggravation of it: for the exceeding the bounds of authority is no more a right in a great, than in a petty officer, no more juſtifiable in a king than a conſtable; but is ſo much the worſe in him, in that he has more truſt put in him, has already a much greater ſhare than the reſt of his brethren, and is ſuppoſed, from the advantage of his education, and counſellors, to be more knowing in the meaſure of right or wrong."

And in another place he ſays, "How to reſiſt force without ſtriking again, or how to ſtrike with reverence, will need ſome ſkill to make intelligible. He that ſhall oppoſe an aſſault only with a ſtick to receive the blows, or in any more reſpectful poſture, without a ſword in his hand, to abate the confidence and force of the aſſailant, will quickly be at an end of his reſiſtance, and will find ſuch a defence only to draw on himſelf the worſe uſage.—He therefore who may reſiſt, muſt be allowed to ſtrike: and then let any one join a knock on the head, or a cut on the face, with as much reverence as he thinks fit. He that can reconcile blows and revence, may, for ought I know, deſerve for his pains a civil reſpectful cudgelling, wherever he can meet with it.—It is true an inferior, generally ſpeaking, cannot reſiſt a ſuperior. But to reſiſt force with force being the ſtate of war, that levels the parties, cancels all former relations of reverence, reſpect, and ſuperiority: and then the odds that remains is, that he who oppoſes the unjuſt aggreſſor, has this ſuperiority over him, and he has a right, when he prevails, to puniſh the offender, both for the breach of the peace, and all the events that followed upon it."

A little farther, he ſays, "Here, 'tis like, the common queſtion will be made, Who ſhall be judge, whether the prince or legiſlature act contrary to their truſt? This, perhaps, ill-affected and factious men may ſpread among the people, when the prince only

only makes uſe of his juſt prerogative. To this I reply, The people ſhall be judge: for who ſhall be judge whether his truſtee or deputy acts well, and according to the truſt repoſed in him, but he who deputes him, and muſt, by having deputed him, have a power to diſcard him, when he fails in his truſt? If this be reaſonable in particular caſes of private men, why ſhould it be otherwiſe in that of the greateſt moment, where the welfare of millions is concerned; and alſo, where the evil, if not prevented, is greater, and the redreſs very difficult, dear, and dangerous?"

But there are ſtill greater authority than that of any private man, to vindicate the proceedings of the long parliament. That very convention which brought in king *Charles* II. tho' ready to run mad with loyalty, would not ſuffer any reflection on the conduct of their brother members, except in that article only of putting the king to death.

Mr. *Lenthal*, ſpeaker of the long parliament, and member in the reſtoring one, happened to drop this expreſſion, in the debate about the general pardon: "He who firſt drew his ſword againſt the late king, "committed as great an offence, as he who cut off "his head." Upon which he was ſeized by the ſerjeant, and Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*, by order of the houſe of commons, reprimanded him as follows: "Sir, the houſe hath taken great offence at ſome words you have let fall in this debate; which in their judgments, contain as high a reflection on the juſtice and proceedings of the lords and commons of the laſt parliament in their actings, before 1648, as could be expreſſed. They apprehend there is much poiſon in the ſaid words, and that they were ſpoken out of a deſign to inflame, and to render them who drew the ſword, to bring delinquents to puniſhment, and to aſſert their juſt liberties, into a balance with them who cut off the king's head."

Thus, ſays the author of this paſſage, are all the lord *Clarendon*'s and mr. *Echard*'s reflections on

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thoſe actings declared to be highly injurious; and the hiſtory of *England*, and that of the grand rebellion, which treat that glorious parliament as rebels, are condemned in the moſt ſolemn manner, by the declaration of the houſe of commons, pronounced by their ſpeaker. After which, it muſt be thought all future criticks upon them would be needleſs.

Thus the differences between the king and parliament coming to an open rupture, the active diſpoſition of *Cromwell* would not ſuffer him to be an idle ſpectator. He got a captain's commiſſion from the commons, and immediately raiſed a troop of horſe in his own country. They conſiſted of ſelect men, whoſe bravery he proved by the following ſtaatagem. He placed about twelve of them in an ambuſcade, near one of the king's gariſons, who advancing furiouſly towards the body, as if they had been of the enemy's party, put ſome of their raw companions to flight. Theſe he immediately diſcharged, and filled their places with others of more courage.

Some men, in different profeſſions and ſtations of life, have generally advanced but very ſlowly, if by merit, to the higheſt dignities. But this was not the caſe with *Cromwell:* His advances from a captain to a lieutenant-general were ſo ſudden, that they could not but ſurprize all that were witneſſes of them. His ſecuring the town of *Cambridge*, when the college-plate was upon the point of being ſent to the king at *Oxford*, and his taking Sir *Thomas Connesby*, high-ſheriff of *Hertfordſhire*, juſt as he was going to St. *Alban*'s, to proclaim the parliament-commanders all traitors, were ſuch actions as procured him the thanks of the houſe, and recommended him to the dignity of a colonel. In this poſt, having raiſed a thouſand horſe by his own intereſt, he obſtructed the levies for the king in *Cambridgeſhire*, *Eſſex*, *Suffolk*, and *Norfolk*, with incredible diligence: he alſo defeated the project of a counter-aſſociation on the king's ſide, contrived by Sir *John Pettus* and others, by ſurpriſing the parties in the

the town of *Leſtoff*, and ſeizing all their proviſions and ſtores: then going to convoy ſome ammunition from *Warwick* to *Glouceſter*, he by the way took *Hiſden-houſe*, made Sir *Alexander Denton*, the owner, and ſeveral others, priſoners, obtained a large booty, and gave an alarm to *Oxford* itſelf.

Being now made lieutenant-general to the earl of *Mancheſter*, he levy'd more forces: and marching towards *Lincolnſhire*, he diſarmed the parliament's enemies by the way, relieved captain *Wray*, who was diſtreſſed by the people of *Newark*, made a great ſlaughter, and took three troops priſoners. And afterwards meeting with twenty-four of the king's troops near *Grantham*, he with ſeven troops only entirely routed them.

Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, having got poſſeſſion of *Gainsborough* for the parliament, colonel *Cavendiſh* was ſent by his brother, the earl of *Newcaſtle*, with a large party of horſe to ſummon it. *Cromwell* attacked him with only twelve troops, near the town, and tho' *Cavendiſh* had three times the number of men, and prodigious advantage of the ground, his party was all routed, and himſelf killed,, as well as a great number of other officers. "This, ſays *Whitelock*, was the beginning of *Cromwell*'s great fortunes; and now he began to appear in the world. He had a brave regiment of horſe of his own countrymen, moſt of them freeholders ſons, who upon matter of conſcience engaged in the quarrel under *Cromwell*. And thus being well armed within, by the ſatisfaction of their own conſciences, and without by good arms, they would as one man ſtand firmly and fight deſperately." He was obliged, however, after this victory, to retreat the ſame night to *Lincoln*; which he did in good order, and marched next day to the earl of *Mancheſter* at *Boſton*. Colonel *Cavendiſh*'s troops rallying after the death of their leader, and joining the earl of *Newcaſtle*, *Cromwell* did not think it prudent to engage againſt ſuch prodigious odds, ſo drew off.

His next exploit was againſt Sir *John Henderſon*, an experienced commander, at the head of eighty-ſeven troops. They met at *Windsby-field*, near *Horncaſtle*. Here *Cromwell* was in great danger, having his horſe killed at the firſt onſet, and likewiſe ſtruck down again as he attempted to riſe. But he had the good fortune, notwithſtanding to rout the king's party; the lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Ingram Hopton*, and other perſons of quality, with about 1500 ſoldiers and inferior officers, were kill'd, tho' very few were loſt on the parliament ſide. A great many priſoners were taken, as well as many horſes, and a large quantity of arms; and it was by means of this victory that the earl of *Mancheſter* made himſelf maſter of *Lincoln*.

Immediately after this battle followed that of *Marſton-Moor*. The parliament army, under the earl of *Mancheſter*, lord *Fairfax*, and general *Leven*, had been obliged by prince *Rupert* to raiſe the ſiege of *York*. His highneſs not contented with this advantage, reſolved to give them battle, and accordingly came up with them at the aforeſaid place. In the engagement, the left wing of the royal army, commanded by the prince in perſon, put the right wing of the parliament's army to flight, and in it the aforeſaid three generals. But the prince purſuing them too far, *Cromwell*, who commanded the left wing, found means to draw over the victory to his ſide, and get the whole honour of it to himſelf. He engaged cloſely the earl of *Newcaſtle*, who had before only cannonaded at a diſtance, and the action on both ſides was warm and deſperate. The horſe having diſcharged their piſtols, flung them at each other's heads, and then engaged with their ſwords. But after a very obſtinate diſpute, *Cromwell*'s ſuperior courage and conduct prevailed, and the king's right wing totally routed. And now the prince returning with his victorious party, was alſo attacked unwares, and entirely defeated, by the reſerve of *Cromwell*'s brigade.

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In this action above 4000 of the king's forces were kill'd, and upwards of 1500 taken priſoners, among whom were near a 100 perſons of diſtinction beſides conſiderable officers. All their artillery, ſmall arms, and ammunition, together with the prince's own ſtandard, were alſo taken: the parliamentarians not loſing 300 men. The whole glory of which is univerſally and juſtly aſcribed to *Cromwell*, who, according to ſome, was abſent when *Mancheſter*, *Fairfax*, and *Leven*, were put in confuſion, being gone aſide to have a wound dreſſed, which he received at the firſt charge: but returning to his poſt, he ſhewed what good ſenſe united with valour could do; for by his own proweſs he inſpired the troops with freſh courage, which immediately gave a new turn to the fortune of the day. For his behaviour in this memorable battle, which was fought on the ſecond of *July* 1644, *Cromwell* gained the name of *Ironſides*, alluding to his invincible bravery, and the impenetrable ſtrength of his troops. The conſequences on the king's ſide were diſſenſion and ſeparation between the prince and his confederates, and ſoon after the ſurrender of the city of *York* by Sir *Thomas Glemham*.

I am very ſenſible that Sir *William Dugdale*, in his view of the late troubles, as well as lord *Hollis*, in his memoirs, have accuſed *Cromwell* of cowardice, the former in the battle of *Edge-hill*, and the latter in this of *Marſton-moor*: but as they both do it on hearſay, and were beſides profeſſed enemies of our commander, and as all the concurrent and ſubſequent facts and circumſtances, in particular his great reputation from this time, entirely contradict and overthrow every calumny of that nature, it is certainly needleſs to uſe any other means to wipe off their aſperſions.

In fact *Cromwell* began now to be ſo very much taken notice of, that ſome feared, others envy'd, and all admired him. It is ſaid, that the character given of him to the king by archbiſhop *Williams*, made

made ſuch an impreſſion on his majeſty, that he was hear to ſay, "I would ſome one would do me the "good ſervice to bring *Cromwell* to me, alive or "dead." The earl of *Eſſex* grew jealous of him: the *Scotch* commiſſioners, at his inſtigation, held a conference with ſome of the parliament's members, how to get rid of him, in which he was vehemently accus'd by the chancellor of *Scotland*. He had alſo a difference with the earl of *Mancheſter*, whom he accuſed of cowardice at the ſecond battle of *Newbury*, which ended in an irreconcileable breach between them. Yet, amidſt all his enemies and rivals, *Cromwell* carried his point, ſo far, that when the army was new-modelled, by what was called the ſelf-denying ordinance, which excluded all members of parliament from military poſts, he continued a ſingle exception to this general law, and kept his command. Of ſuch importance did his ſervices now appear, that envy and oppoſition could have no effect againſt him, tho' promoted by perſons in the higheſt ſtations.

As I ſhall not give a regular account of all the actions of this great man, I ſhall therefore haſten over thoſe of leſs moment; ſuch as his defeat of the earl of *Northampton* and lord *Goring* at *Iſlip-bridge*; his taking *Blechington-houſe*, for the ſurrender of which colonel *Windebank* was ſhot to death at *Oxford*, his taking Sir *William Vaughan*, and lieutenant-colonel *Littleton*, with moſt of their men, priſoners; his ſtorming of *Farringdon-houſe*, where he was repulſed by Sir *George Liſle:* it is ſufficient to take notice, that a little before the battle of *Naſeby* he was appointed lieutenant-general of the horſe. *Whitelock* tells us, that he now began to increaſe in the favour of the people and of the army, and grow great to the envy of many.

There is a paſſage in the *Portugueze* ambaſſador's panegyrick to the protector, which I cannot help taking notice of here. A way being made, ſays the "author, thro' the inferior poſts, he roſe to be lieutenant-ge-

general of the army; where, with a ſingular prerogative of experience, acquired thro' all the military offices, he ſo ſuited himſelf to all perſons, that he ſeem'd to be born only to that truſt which he then exerciſed. He commanded both the horſe and foot forces with the ſame eaſe, tho' in their uſe and ordering ſo different from each other; and performed ſuch great and wonderful things with the help of each, that he made it a doubt, which of them may be of the moſt ſervice in an engagement, ſince it was evident that both ſtood in need of ſo great a captain for the gaining of thoſe happy ſucceſſes which he won in battle."

Fairfax was the parliament's chief general, in the room of the earl of *Eſſex*. *Cromwell* joined him and the main army at *Gilsborough*, bringing with him ſix hundred horſe and dragoons. The king, having been ſome time at *Borough-hill*, drew off from thence towards *Harborough*, and deſigned to march to *Pomfret*; thinking if he were follow'd by the parliament's forces, he ſhould fight with greater advantage northward. But *Ireton*, by *Cromwell's* advice, being ſent out with a flying party of horſe, fell upon a party of the king's rear, quartered in *Naſeby* town, and took many priſoners, being ſome of prince *Rupert's* life-guard, and *Langdal's* brigade. This gave ſuch an alarm to the whole royal army, that the king at midnight left his own quarters, and for ſecurity haſtened to *Harborough*, where the van of his army lay. Here calling up prince *Rupert*, he ſummoned a council of war, in which it was reſolved (chiefly thro' the prince's eagerneſs, the old commanders being much againſt it) to give the enemy battle; and ſince *Fairfax* had been ſo forward, they would no longer ſtay for him, but ſeek him out. Accordingly, being come near *Naſeby*, there they found him; and both armies being drawn up in battalia, faced each other. The princes *Rupert* and *Maurice* commanded the right wing of the royal army, ſir *Marmadaduke Langdael* the

the left, and the king himſelf the main body; the earl of *Lindſay* and *Jacob* lord *Aſhley*, the right hand reſerve? and the lord *Bard* and ſir *Geo. Liſle*, the left reſerve. The right wing of the parliament's army was led by lieutenant-general *Cromwell*, the left by colonel *Ireton*, the main body by general *Fairfax* and major-general *Skippon*, who fought ſtoutly, tho' ſeverely wounded in the beginning of the fight; and the reſerves were brought up by *Rainsborough*, *Hammond*, and *Pride*. The place of action was a large fallow field, on the north-weſt ſide of *Naſeby*, above a mile broad; which ſpace of ground was wholly taken up by the two armies.

All things being diſpoſed, on the 14 of June, at ten in the morning, the battle began with more then civil rage; the royal word being, "God and queen Mary," and the others, "God with us." *Prince Rupert* gave the firſt charge, and engaged the parliament's left wing with great reſolution. *Ireton* made gallant reſiſtance, but was forced at laſt to give ground, the horſe being ſhot under him, and himſelf run thro' the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and taken priſoner, till upon the turn of the battle he regained his liberty. The prince chaſed the enemy to *Naſeby* town, and in his return ſummoned the train, and viſited his carriages, where was good plunder. But here, as in the battle of *Marſtonmoor*, his long ſtay ſo far from the main body, was no ſmall prejudice to the king's army.

For *Cromwell*, in the mean time, charged furiouſly on the king's left wing, and that with good ſucceſs, forcing them from the body: and proſecuting the advantage, quite broke them, and their reſerve. After which, joining with *Fairfax*, he charged the king's foot, who had beaten the parliament's and got poſſeſſion of their ordnance, and thought themſelves ſure of victory; but being now in confuſion, and having no horſe to ſupport them, they were eaſily over-borne by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*.

well. By this time the king was joined by prince *Rupert*, returned from his fatal ſucceſs; but the horſe could never be brought to rally themſelves again in order, or to charge the enemy.

Upon this, lord *Clarendon* ſays, "that this difference was obſerved all along in the diſcipline of the king's troops, and thoſe commanded by *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* (it having never been remarkable under *Eſſex* and *Waller*, but only under them) tho' the king's troops prevailed in the charge, and routed thoſe they charged, they ſeldom rally'd themſelves again in order, nor could be brought to make a ſecond charge the ſame day; which was the reaſon they had not an entire victory at *Edge-hill*; whereas the troops under *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, if they prevailed, or tho' they were beaten and routed, preſently rally'd again, and ſtood in good order, till they received farther directions."

And the glory of all that happened under *Fairfax*, ought, according to moſt writers, to be aſcribed ſolely to *Cromwell*. Father *Orleans* ſays, "*Fairfax* by birth, ſervice, courage, and warlike temper, ſufficiently qualified him to repreſent a prime actor; his mean capacity and want of foreſight (which made him active without thought, tho' heavy and hypochondriac) made him fit to receive the impreſſions given him by another, and be guided by *Cromwell*. Thus *Fairfax* made the ſhow, and *Cromwell* managed all. The former being as pliable as he was ambitious, the latter ruled by appearing ſubmiſſive." Agreebly to which we find the panegyriſt before quoted expreſſing himſelf thus of Cromwell: "Whatever military honours he bore, he moſt religiouſly obeyed his ſuperiors in them all; in atchieving the moſt gallant acts, he gave the glory of all the conduct to the chief generals, and that with ſuch a modeſty, that he bound them moſt ſtrongly to himſelf, and obtain'd the admiration of all. Becauſe a conqueſt of himſelf is ever reckon'd more honourable in a ſoldier, than to triumph over the enemy. For this

this and his other virtues *Fairfax* valued him at ſo high a rate, that he would take no cognizance of the greateſt affairs, becauſe he would leave them intirely to *Cromwell:* and *Cromwell*, in thoſe things which he himſelf only performed, and gave an account of to the parliament, ſtill made *Fairfax* the author."

In fine, with all that the king and the prince could do, they could not rally their broken troops, which ſtood in ſufficient numbers upon the place; ſo that they were forced at laſt to quit the field, leaving a compleat victory to the parliament's party, who purſued them within two miles of *Leiceſter*; and the king finding the purſuit ſo hot, fled from thence to *Aſhby-de-la-Zouch*, and then to *Litchfield*, and for a ſafer retreat into *Wales*.

Thus ended the famous battle of *Naſeby*, in which the wonderful ſucceſs of the parliament's party was chiefly owing to *Cromwell*'s valour and good conduct, who flew like lightening from one part of the army to the other, and broke thro' the enemy's ſquadrons with ſuch rapidity, that nothing either could or durſt ſtop him. 'Tis ſaid, that in this action a commander of the king's knowing *Cromwell*, advanced briſkly from the head of his troops, to exchange a ſingle bullet with him, and was with equal bravery encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in; till their piſtols being diſcharged, the cavalier, with a ſlanting back blow of a broad ſword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held *Cromwell*'s murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head; and now, juſt as he was going to repeat his ſtroke, *Cromwell*'s party came in and reſcued him; and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his ſaddle, which he haſtily catching, clapped it on the wrong way, and ſo bravely fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved ſo very fortunate on his ſide.

The king's loſs in this battle was irreparable; for beſides that there were ſlain above a hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of quality, moſt of his foot

foot were taken priſoners, with moſt of his cannon and baggage, near eight thouſand arms, beſides other valuable plunder; alſo his majeſty's cabinet where his moſt ſecret papers were depoſited, among which were ſeveral letters between him and his queen, which diſcovered how contrary his counſels with her were to thoſe he declared to the kingdom. Many of theſe, relating to the publick, were printed with obſervavions, and kept upon record, by order of the two houſes; who alſo made a public declaration of them, ſhewing what the nobility who followed the king, were to expect from him. But of theſe letters, and his majeſty's inſincerity, we ſhall take more particular notice, in its proper place.

I ſhall give a particular account of this action of *Naſeby*, becauſe it was the deciſive battle. It is obſerved, that from this time, the king's affairs became deſperate, and his army began to moulder away. The parliament's army had no ſooner gained this wonderful advantage, but like a torrent they ſoon overflowed the whole kingdom, bearing down all before them. *Leiceſter*, which the king had lately taken from them, was immediately regained. *Taunton*, which had been cloſely beſieged by lord *Goring*, and defended by the valiant *Blake*, was relieved: lord *Goring* was beaten, and purſued almoſt to *Bridgwater*. In this latter action the prudence of *Cromwell* was very conſpicuous: he would not ſuffer part of the horſe to purſue the enemy, till they were all come up together; then putting himſelf at their head, he perform'd the work with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took almoſt all the enemy's foot, and their ordnance.

After this victory, the ſtrong gariſon of *Bridgewater* was taken by ſtorm. This was of great advantage to the parliament; for thereby a line of gariſons was drawn over the country, from the *Severn* to the ſouth coaſts; whereby *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, ſtill chiefly at the king's devotion, were cut off from any communication with the eaſtern parts.

Cromwell's next expedition was againſt the clubmen, a kind of third army, which ſtarted up ſuddenly in ſeveral counties, on occaſion of the rapines and violences practiſed by the royaliſts in the weſt. Both parties endeavoured to gain them over, and they were formidable to both, till *Cromwell*'s preſence, and excellent conduct, put an end to the inſurrection.

Immediately after we find him near *Briſtol*, and *Fairfax* with him, whom he adviſed to ſtorm that great city. Prince *Rupert* held it, with about 5000 horſe and foot, for the king, and had declared he would never ſurrender it, unleſs a mutiny happened. But *Cromwell*'s council prevailing, an attack was made with ſo much fury, that the prince thought it not fit to run the hazard of a ſecond aſſault, but delivered up the place, and with it moſt of the king's magazines and warlike proviſions. His majeſty hereupon diſcharged the prince, and wrote him a letter to retire out of the kingdom.

From *Briſtol*, with a brigade of four regiments, *Cromwell* flew to the *Devizes*, and ſummoned the caſtle. The place was ſo ſtrong, that ſir *Charles Lloyd*, the governor, returned no other anſwer but *Win it and wear it*. Yet, as if nothing was defenſible againſt our victorious commander, he was ſoon maſter of this fortreſs. Thence haſtening to *Wincheſter*, he by the way diſarmed and diſperſed the *Hampſhire* rioters; and being come near the city, he fired the gate, and entered; made a breach in the caſtle, which held out, and reduced it to the parliament's obedience. He did the ſame by *Baſing-houſe*, which was held by the marquis of *Wincheſter*, and thought almoſt impregnable; the colonels *Norton* and *Harvey*, and ſir *William Waller*, having aſſaulted it in vain. Seventy-two men were here loſt on the king's ſide, and about two hundred taken; of which were the marquis himſelf, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, whom *Cromwell* ſent up

to

to the parliament, and received the thanks of the houſe for theſe great ſervices.

Langford-houſe, near *Salisbury*, upon his approaching before it, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons. He marching beyond *Exeter*, at *Bovy-Tracy*, fought the lord *Wentworth*, taking four hundred horſe, and one hundred foot, priſoners, with ſix ſtandards, one of which was the king's. Then joining with *Fairfax*, they in conjunction took *Dartmouth* by ſtorm, defeated the lord *Hopton* at *Torrington*, and purſued the only remains of a royal army into *Cornwall*, where prince *Charles* had a body of about five thouſand horſe, and one thouſand foot; but unable to make head againſt the victors, he embarked with ſeveral noble perſons, and fled to the iſles of *Scilly*. Lord *Hopton*, who was left to command the forces, was obliged to diſband them; ſoon after *Exeter* ſurrendered, and *Cromwell* came up to *London*, where he took his place in parliament, and received the hearty thanks of the houſe, for his great and important ſervices.

The king's affairs were now entirely ruined, and a ſtop was put to the firſt and longeſt civil war. The few places that held out for him were ſurrendered, and his majeſty threw himſelf into the hands of the *Scots*, then lying before *Newark*. The *Scots*, ſoon after, delivered him to the *Engliſh* parliament, who ſecured him in *Holmby-houſe*, where he was ſeized next year by the army, and after ſome ineffectual treating, which ſhall be taken notice of elſewhere, made his eſcape from *Hampton-court* to the *Iſle of Wight*, remaining there till he was brought up to *London* to take his trial. During all this time *Cromwell* was managing the parliament and the army, who were both jealous of him in their turns, and both of them, in their turns, outwitted by him. It was now perceived, that tho' *Fairfax* was general in name, *Cromwell* commanded in fact, the other doing nothing without his concurrence.

But the whole time between the end of the firſt war,

war, and the death of the king, was not ſpent in intriguing, and circumventing of parties. In the year 1648, the diſcontented part of the nation had again recourſe to arms. The firſt that appeared in a hoſtile manner were the *Welſh*, under major-general *Langhorn*, colonel *Poyer*, and colonel *Powell*. Theſe men, tho' formerly active parliamentarians, being to be diſbanded by order of the council of war, refuſed to ſubmit; and the better to ſecure themſelves, declared for the king, acting by commiſſion under the prince of *Wales*. Others joining them, they ſoon had a formidable body, and got poſſeſſion of ſeveral caſtles. There was alſo a conſiderable riſing in *Kent*, under the earl of *Norwich*; and another in the north, under ſir *Marmaduke Langdale*. The duke of *Buckingham* and his brother, the earl of *Holland*, and the earl of *Peterborough*, appeared in arms near *Kingſton*; and part of the fleet, under captain *Batten*, revolted to the prince. In a word, there was ſcarce a county in *England*, where there was not ſome aſſociation forming, in favour of the king. This put the parliament upon vigorous meaſures; which proving ſucceſsful, ſeveral of the inſurrections were immediately quell'd, and a powerful body of the royaliſts were ſhut up in the town of *Colcheſter*; where being obliged, after a long ſiege, to ſurrender, ſir *George Liſle* and ſir *Charles Lucas*, two of their heads, were ſhot to death by order of a council of war.

Cromwell's part in this ſecond war was very conſiderable. Being ſent into *Wales*, colonel *Horton*, whom he diſpatched before him, defeated *Langhorn*'s army, ſlew fifteen hundred, and took three thouſand priſoners. *Cromwell* himſelf beſieged *Chepſtow*, which was taken by colonel *Ewer*, whom he left behind him for that purpoſe. Proceeding in the mean time into *Pembrokeſhire*, he took *Tenby* by ſtorm. Then advancing to *Pembroke*, where *Langhorn*, *Poyer*, and *Powel* had ſtrongly fortified themſelves, he reduced both the town and caſtle by famine. The three chiefs

chiefs ſurrendered at mercy, and being condemned by a court-martial, were ordered to be ſhot to death; but having the favour given them of caſting lots, *Poyer* was the only one who ſuffered. The other priſoners were uſed with more lenity, and none of the town's-people plundered.

The *Scots*, about this time, invaded *England*, under duke *Hamilton*, who had carried the command from the marquis of *Argyll*, and was for reſtoring the king without conditions. *Cromwell* was ordered to advance againſt theſe, and fight them. Accordingly, having compleated the reduction of *Wales*, he marched towards the north with all his forces, ſending to major-general *Lambert*, who was already in thoſe parts, to avoid engaging till the whole army came together. While *Cromwell* was on this march, a charge of high-treaſon was drawn up againſt him by major *Huntingdon*, which proved ineffectual in the houſe of commons. At laſt, having joined *Lambert*, he met the *Scots* on the 17th of *Auguſt*, near *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*. The *Engliſh* under *Langdale*, who had joined the *Scots*, behaved reſolutely, but were ſo preſſed upon by *Cromwell*'s men, that they were obliged to retreat; which the *Scots* perceiving, they ſoon followed their example, and left *Cromwell* maſter of the field, who purſuing them cloſely, ſlew many, and took abundance of priſoners, with all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition. The next morning marching towards *Warrington*, he made a ſtand at a paſs, which for many hours was reſolutely diſputed with him; but at laſt he drove on the enemy, ſlew one thouſand of them, and took two thouſand priſoners: He was again oppoſed at *Warrington-bridge* by lieutenant-general *Bayley*, who was obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner of war, and all his men, to the number of four thouſand, with arms and ammunition. As for duke *Hamilton*, he fled from place to place with about three thouſand horſe, till he was taken at *Uttoxeter* in *Staffordſhire*, with all his men, and ſent priſoner to *Windſor* caſtle.

Thus

Thus the whole *Scotch* army, which had occaſioned ſo much terror, was totally routed and defeated by *Cromwell*, with ſcarce a third part of the ſame number of forces, very few of which were loſt in this important expedition. General *Monroe*, who was come into *England* as a reſerve to the duke, hearing of what had happened, and that *Cromwell* was advancing towards him, in order to proſecute the advantage, thought it his beſt way to march back again with all expedition.

Having rid the nation of this great fear, and the north in particular of the burthen it groaned under, thro' the oppreſſion of the *Scots*, *Cromwell* reſolved to enter *Scotland*, that he might effectually root out whatever threatened any further diſturbance. In his way he reduced *Berwick* and *Carliſle*, both which had revolted from their former obedience. And juſt upon entering the kingdom, he ordered proclamation to be made at the head of every regiment, that no one, upon pain of death, ſhould force from the *Scots* any of their cattle or goods: He likewiſe declared to the *Scots*, "That he came with an army to free their kingdom from the *Hamiltonian* party, who endeavoured to involve both the nations in blood; without any intention to invade their liberties, or make any infringement on their privileges." He proceeded according to his declaration; for marching to *Edinburgh*, he was received with great ſolemnity by the marquis of *Argyll*, and others; and having diſpoſſeſs'd the *Hamiltonian* party of all public truſts, he returned to *England*, loaded with marks of honour, leaving behind him, at the requeſt of the *Argyll* party, three regiments of horſe, under major-general *Lambert*. Upon his arrival at *London*, he took his place in parliament, and was preſented with the thanks of the houſe; which he received, according to cuſtom, with great appearance of humility. This was his laſt military expedition before the death of the king, which happened ſoon after; which ſhall be left to be ſpoken of in another place, and follow our hero into *Ireland*.

The

The *Iriſh* Rebellion, which broke out in 1641 had, thro' the neceſſity of the times, been much neglected till 1649. The parliament, indeed, had long before got poſſeſſion of *Dublin*, which was delivered up to them by the marquis of *Ormond*, who was then obliged to come over to *England*: But being recalled by the *Iriſh*, *Ormond* made a league with them in favour of the king, and brought over moſt of the kingdom into an union with the royaliſts. *Londonderry* and *Dublin* were the only places that held out for the parliament, and the latter was in great danger of being loſt. This made colonel *Jones*, the governor, ſend over to *England* for ſuccour; and a conſiderable body of forces were thereupon ordered for *Ireland*. The command of theſe was offered to *Cromwell*, who accepted of it with ſeeming reluctance, profeſſing, "That the difficulty which appeared in the expedition, was his chief motive for engaging in it, and that he hardly expected to prevail over the rebels, but only to preſerve to the commonwealth ſome footing in that kingdom."

The parliament was ſo pleaſed with his anſwer, that on the 22d of *June* 1649, they gave him a commiſſion to command all the forces that ſhould be ſent to *Ireland*, and to be lord-governor for three years, in all affairs both civil and military. The very minute that he received this charge, *Cromwell* uſed an incredible expedition in the raiſing of money, providing of ſhipping, and drawing the forces together for their intended enterprize. The ſoldiery marched with full ſpeed to the rendezvous at *Milford-Haven*, there to wait the new lord-deputy, who followed them from *London* on the 10th of *July*. His ſetting out was very pompous, being drawn in a coach and ſix horſes, attended by many members of parliament and council of ſtate, with the chief of the army; his life-guard conſiſting of eighty men, who had formerly been commanders, all bravely mounted and accoutered, both them and their ſervants.

Never

Never did general more diſtinguiſh himſelf, either for valour and conduct, than *Cromwell* in this *Iriſh* expedition. Having called at *Briſtol*, where he was received with great honour, and given orders for the train of artillery, he went over to *Wales*, diſpatching three regiments before him for *Dublin*, to ſtrengthen the brave colonel *Jones*, who was appointed lieutenant-general of horſe by the parliament. With the aſſiſtance of theſe, that gallant commander raiſed the ſiege of *Dublin*, and entirely routed the marquis of *Ormond*, who had treated him with contempt. About four thouſand were killed in this action, and two thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, with the loſs only of twenty on the parliament ſide. All the great guns, ammunition, proviſions, and about 4000l. in money, belonging to the royaliſts, were obtained in this battle; the great ſucceſs of which was unexpected on both ſides. *Jones* having at firſt only attacked a party, by whoſe defeat he was led on to a compleat victory. The marquis, upon this misfortune, fled to *Kilkenny*, and from thence to *Drogheda*, whither many of his ſcattered forces had betook themſelves before.

There was work enough, however, left for *Cromwell*, notwithſtanding this advantage before his arrival. The beating an army in the field was not the greateſt part of the buſineſs, while moſt of the forfeited places, which were numerous, were in the hands of the enemy; yet a victory ſo compleat, when he expected rather to hear of the loſs of *Dublin*, was matter of great encouragement to his excellency. He embarked at *Milford-Haven* full of the good news, and arrived at *Dublin* in a ſhort time, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. As he paſſed thro' the city, at a convenient place he made a ſtand, and in a ſpeech to the people, "declared the cauſe of his coming, promiſing not only favour and affection, but rewards and gratuities, to all that ſhould aſſiſt in the reduction of their enemies." He was anſwered with loud applauſes,

plauſes, the people crying out, that they would live and die with him.

After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves, *Cromwell* drew them out of the city to a general muſter, where there appeared a compleat body of fifteen thouſand horſe and foot; out of which ten thouſand were drawn for preſent ſervice. With this army he advanced towards *Drogheda*, or *Tredagh*, a ſtrong place, garriſoned by two thouſand five hundred foot and three hundred horſe, the flower of the royal army, under the command of ſir *Arthur Aſton*, an experienced old ſoldier. The marquis of *Ormond* foreſaw that this place, by reaſon of its ſituation, would be firſt attempted; and he was in hopes he ſhould have time to recruit his army, while *Cromwell* was waſting his forces againſt the town. But no ſooner was the general come before *Tredagh*, but he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender, and not being regarded, he immediately hung out the red enſign, blocked up the town by land, and ordered *Ayſcough* with his fleet to do the ſame by ſea; and being ſenſible of the miſchiefs of a long ſiege, he would not ſubmit to the common forms of approaches, but prepared directly for an aſſault.

Having planted a battery on the ſouth-ſide of the town, which continued firing for two days, two breaches were made in the walls, by which ſome regiments of foot immediately entered. But theſe being repulſed by the defendants, *Cromwell* drew out a freſh reſerve of foot, and in perſon bravely entered at their head. This example inſpired the ſoldiers with ſuch courage, that none were able to ſtand before them; and having now gained the town, they made a terrible ſlaughter, putting all they met with, that were in arms, to the ſword. *Cromwell* had given ſuch orders, to diſcourage other places from making oppoſition; to which purpoſe he wrote to the parliament, "that he believed this ſeverity would ſave much effuſion of blood." *Aſton*'s men, however, did not fall unrevenged: for they deſperately diſput-

ed every corner of the ſtreets, and finding theſe too hot, they retired to the churches and ſteeples. One hundred of them were blown up together in St. *Peter*'s church, only one man eſcaping, who leaped from the tower, and had quarter given him. Thoſe who would not ſurrender upon ſummons, were cloſely ſhut up and guarded, in order to ſtarve them out; and of thoſe who did ſurrender, all the officers and every tenth private man were killed, and the reſt ordered on ſhipboard for *Barbadoes*. The winning of this town was ſo ſurpriſing, that *O Neal*, at the hearing of it, ſwore a great oath, "That if *Cromwell* had taken *Tredagh* by ſtorm, if he would ſtorm hell he would take it."

The ſlaughter at *Tredagh*, tho' cruel in itſelf, had the good effect that the general deſired. All the other places round about ſurrendered, few of them waiting ſo much as for a ſummons. *Dundalk* was abandoned ſo precipitately, that the garriſon left cannon behind them on the plat-forms. *Cromwell* therefore, finding his name ſufficient at this time in the north, did not march any farther that way, but returned to beſiege *Wexford*, taking in *Killingkerick* and *Arkloe* caſtle by the way.

Having ſummoned *Wexford*, and received a dubious anſwer from colonel *Synnot*, the governor, the general waited till he might have an explanation. In this view he correſponded with him by ſeveral papers: But finding that *Synnot*'s whole intent was to protract time, while the earl of *Caſtlehaven*, with five hundered men came to his aſſiſtance, *Crommell* applied himſelf to ſtorming the caſtle. A ſmall breach being made, commiſſioners were ſent from the beſieged to treat of a ſurrender; but it was now too late, for no ceſſation having been agreed upon, the guns continued firing, the breach was made wider, the guard quitted the caſtle, and ſome of *Cromwell*'s men entered it. The enemy obſerving this, quitted their ſtations in all parts; ſo that the others getting over the walls, poſſeſſed themſelves

of

of the town with little or no oppoſition. Here, as well as at *Droghedea*, none were ſuffered to live that they found in arms. In this town great riches were taken, and ſome ſhips ſeized in the harbour, that had much interrupted the trade on that coaſt; and the ſeverity here uſed had the ſame effect at *Droghe-da*; the terror ſpread thro' all the towns along the coaſt, as far as *Dublin*, which ſaved the general the trouble of ſummoning them.

The winter coming on, and it being a wet ſea-ſon, *Cromwell*'s troops ſuffered much, and the flux then raging amongſt them. Many thought theſe reaſons ſhould have obliged him, for the preſent, to put a ſtop to his conqueſts; but he was of another mind, and more in the right than they. The difficulties the marquis of *Ormond* met with in bringing a new army into the field, the antient diſagreement again breaking out between the popiſh confederates and him, the ſecret intelligence held by *Cromwell* in the province of *Munſter*, and the weighty affairs that called him back to *England*, were to him more powerful motives for continuing the war, than the winter was to interrupt his progreſs.

Being thus reſolved, he marched to *Roſs*, a ſtrong town upon the *Barrow*. The lord *Taaffe* was governor of this place, who had a potent garriſon with him; and the better to ſecure it, *Ormond*, *Caſtlehaven*, and the lord *Ardes*, cauſed one thouſand five hundered men to be ſent in boats to reinforce it, which was done in ſight of *Cromwell*'s army, who were not able to hinder it. However, the lord general came before the town, and he ſummoned the governor to ſurrender it to the parliament of *England*, declaring, "that he endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to avoid the effuſion of blood." No anſwer was at preſent returned, till the great guns began to play; when the governor, being apprehenſive of the ſame uſage that other garriſons had met with, was willing to treat; which being allowed, they came to this agreement: "That the town ſhould be de-

livered

livered up the lord-general *Cromwell*, and they within to march away with bag and baggage to *Kilkenny*." Fifteen hundred of them accordingly did ſo; but ſix hundred, being *Engliſh*, revolted to *Cromwell*. In the mean time *Kingſale*, *Cork*, *Youghall*, *Bandonbridge*, and other garriſons, voluntarily declared for the conqueror; which places proved of vaſt ſervice in the reduction of *Munſter*, and of all *Ireland*. Sir *Charles Coot* and colonel *Venables* were very ſucceſsful in the north; and lord *Broghill* and colonel *Hewſon* did great ſervice in other places.

Cromwell being maſter of *Roſs*, laid a bridge of boats over the *Barrow*, and ſat down before *Duncannon*; but this place being ſo well provided with neceſſaries, that he judged it would be loſing time to tarry there, he quickly roſe, and marched into the county of *Kilkenny*, where the marquis of *Ormond*, being joined by *Inchequin*, ſeem'd reſolved to give him battle. *Ormond*'s army, both horſe and foot, was ſuperior to *Cromwell*'s, which was much weakened by continual duty, difficult marches, the flux, and other diſeaſes; notwithſtanding which, the marquis, upon the approach of the enemy, drew off, without making any attempts, or ſtriking one ſtroke. Hereupon *Eniſtegoe*, a little town five miles from *Roſs*, was reduced by colonel *Abbot*; and colonel *Reynolds* coming before *Carrick*, divided his men into two parties, with one of which he entered a gate, while he amuſed the garriſon with the other, and ſo took about a hundred priſoners without the loſs of one man.

Cromwell, after this, took *Paſſage-fort*, and made an attempt upon *Waterford*; but the winter being far advanced, and the weather very bad, he thought proper to retire into quarters for a ſhort time. In the mean while *Paſſage-fort* was attacked by a party of the enemy, who were totally routed by colonel *Zankey*, and three hundred and fifty of them taken priſoners. Several other ſkirmiſhes were maintained with the like ſucceſs; but the loſs of lieut. general

Jones,

Jones, who died at *Wexford* of a violent fever, ſtruck a damp upon all, eſpecially as it was followed by that of other brave commanders, and abundance of the common ſoldiers. Recruits, however, arrived daily from *England*; and ſome of the *Iriſh* under *Ormond*, as well as the *Engliſh*, revolted to the victorious *Cromwell*, who made great uſe of the animoſities between them and *Ormond*, endeavouring in the mean time, by the moſt artful inſinuations, to draw over the marquis to the intereſt of the parliament.

Even while the army was in winter-quarters, our vigilant general could not be inactive. He viſited all the garriſons that were in his poſſeſſion in *Munſter*, and gave orders for affairs, both civil and military. When the mayor of *Kinſale* delivered him the keys, he did not return them again, according to cuſtom, but gave them to colonel *Stubber* the governor; his reaſon for which was, that the mayor being a papiſt, he could not ſafely be truſted with ſuch an important place.

The parliament at this time being apprehenſive of ſome deſigns carrying on in *Scotland*, that might require the lieutenant's preſence, ordered the ſpeaker to ſend for him over; but the letter not reaching him till the end of *March*, he had taken the field before, and proceeded far in the reduction of *Ireland*. Tho' he came not into winter-quarters till *December*, yet *January* was ſcarce over, but he divided his army into two bodies, the more to diſtreſs the marquis of *Ormond*. One party he commanded himſelf, and gave the other to *Ireton*; and theſe march'd into the enemy's quarters two ſeveral ways, and met near *Kilkenny*. *Cromwell*'s rout was over the *Black-water*, leading to the counties of *Limerick* and *Tipperary*; and in the way he took a caſtle call'd *Kilkenny*, *Cloghern-houſe*, and *Raghill-caſtle*.

Having with difficulty paſſed the river *Shewer*, at ten at night he arriv'd before *Feathard*, a garriſon town under one *Butler*, and immediately ſent a trumpeter to ſummon it; they ſhot at the tumpeter, and

and declared, that the night was not a fit time to ſend a ſummons. *Cromwell* hereupon prepared a ſtorm, which brought the governor to a treaty, and the next morning *Feathard* was ſurrendered upon articles.

Calan, a ſtrong place, defended by three caſtles, was next to be attacked; here he was joined by *Ireton*, *Reynolds*, and *Zankey*, whoſe army together made a conſiderable body: They ſtormed the caſtles one after another, and carried them all in the ſpace of one day; upon which the whole garriſon, except *Butler*'s troops, who ſurrendered before the cannon were fired, were put to the ſword. After the ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves in the town, they marched back to *Feathard*, by the way taking the caſtles of *Cnoctoter* and *Bullynard*, and were ſoon followed by *Kiltenon*, *Arſenon*, *Coher*, and *Dundrum*, all very conſiderable places.

Cromwell had by this time ſubdued all the places of importance, except *Limerick*, *Waterford*, *Clonmell*, *Galway*, and *Kilkenny*. Theſe were all towns of great ſtrength, and would neceſſarily take up ſome time; he reſolved to attempt the laſt, and ſent orders to colonel *Hewſon*, the new governor of *Dublin*, to bring him all the forces he could draw out of the garriſons on that ſide. Accordingly *Hewſon* joined him near *Gowram*, a populous and ſtrong place, governed by one *Hammond*, who returned a very reſolute anſwer upon being ſummoned to ſurrender. The great guns upon this began to play, and did ſuch execution, as obliged *Hammond* to demand a parley; but the only terms he could obtain were, "that the common ſoldiers ſhould have their lives, and the officers to be diſpoſed of as the general thought fit." The place being thus delivered up, *Hammond* and all the commiſſion'd officers but one, were ſhot to death, and the popiſh prieſt, their chaplain, was hang'd.

Proceeding now to *Kilkenny* (which, beſides its ordinary garriſon, had been reinforced from the neighbouring

bouring towns that ſurrendered) when he came near a mile of the walls, *Cromwell* ſummoned ſir *Walter Butler* the governor, and the corporation, to deliver up the city; but they refuſing ſo to do, he drew nearer, and erected a battery in the moſt convenient place, notwithſtanding the oppoſition from within. With about a hundred ſhot a breach was opened, at which the ſoldiers engaged the enemy, while colonel *Ewer*, with a thouſand foot, gained another part of the city, called *Iriſh-town*. The beſieged, however, were ſo deſparate, that *Cromwell* could not enter the breach, nor *Ewer* gain the bridge that led into the heart of the place; but a little conſideration brought the governor to better meaſures, and after a day's debate, it was agreed, "that the caſtle and city ſhould be delivered up to *Cromwell*, and alſo all the aams, ammunition, and publick ſtores; that the inhabitants ſhould be protected in their perſons, goods, and eſtates, only paying two thouſand pounds to *Cromwell*'s army; and that the governor, officers, and ſoldiers, ſhould march away bag and baggage." Thus was *Kilkenny*, which had been the nurſery of the late rebellion, and the reſidence of the ſupreme council, reduced to the parliament's obedience in leſs than a week, chiefly by the vigilance, activity, and indefatigable induſtry of the lord general *Cromwell*, who frequently, on theſe deſparate occaſions, expoſed himſelf to the moſt imminent dangers.

Having ſettled the affairs of *Kilkenny*, *Cromwell* marched to *Carrick*, in order to proceed on further action. But firſt he ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the parliament, "giving an account of the taking of *Kilkenny*, and ſeveral other places, confeſſing that he had received many private intimations of the parliament's pleaſure, as to his coming home; but that as he did not receive his honour's letter till the army was in the field, and had not ſince heard any thing farther of the parliament's reſolution, he thought proper to wait for a clearer expreſſion of their will, to which he always ſubmitted."

About

About this time the marquis of *Ormond*, and his aſſociates, appointed a meeting in *Weſtmeath*, to conſider of ſome way to ſupport their cauſe, which was almoſt ruined every where. The reſult of their conference was, that they ſhould moleſt the *Engliſh* in their quarters, thereby to protract time, till they had an opportunity of leaving the kingdom: But *Cromwell*, without dreading their motions, ſat down before *Clonmell*, in which was a garriſon of two thouſand foot, and one hundred and twenty horſe; and as ſoon as a ſiege was formed, he detached colonel *Reynolds* and ſir *Theophilus Jones*, with two thouſand five hundred horſe, foot, and dragoons, to prevent *Ormond*'s deſign. Sir *Charles Coot* alſo took the field with three thouſand men, with the ſame intent: But the marquis ſhifting from place to place, to avoid fighting, colonel *Reynolds*, that his men might not be idle, beſieged *Tecrogham*. In the mean time the lord *Broghill*, with another detachment, defeated the biſhop of *Roſs*, who was marching with five thouſand men to relieve *Clonmell*. Several conſiderable perſons were taken here, and among them the biſhop himſelf, who was carried to a caſtle kept by his own forces, and there hang'd before the walls, in ſight of the garriſon; which ſo diſcourag'd them, that they ſoon ſurrendered to the parliament's forces. This biſhop was heard to ſay, "There was no way of curing the *Engliſh* but by hanging them."

Theſe advantages were a ſpur to the ſoldiers that lay before *Clonmell*, and made reſolute, notwithſtanding the vigorous reſiſtance they met with. The active *Cromwell* having ſummoned *O Neal*, the governor, to no purpoſe, proceeded to his uſual method of ſtorming. The great guns being planted, a breach was ſoon opened, and the beſiegers boldly entered, and, in ſpite of the bravery of the beſieged, kept their ground, till after four hours fighting, with doubtful ſucceſs, they carried all before them. This was looked upon to be the hotteſt ſtorm, of ſo long continuance, that had ever been known. The ſubduing

duing of *Clonmell*, tho' with ſo much difficulty, that it occaſioned the ſurrender of ſeveral other garriſons.

While the lord-general was thus victorious in one part of *Ireland*, his deputies, with the parties under them, were no leſs ſucceſsful in others; and his proceeding ſo proſperouſly in his affairs, and obtaining thereby ſo great a ſway, occaſioned a book to be diſperſed about this time, entitled, *The character of king Cromwell*; which, tho' ſuppreſſed as a libel, was received as a kind of prophecy. And indeed, by his good government in *Ireland*, both in civil and military affairs, and the great ſucceſs of it, *Cromwell* obtained a very great intereſt, both here and there, both in the officers of the army and the parliament; only the *Scots* and preſbyterians were generally no favourers of him. He was now preparing to take *Waterford* and *Duncannon*, and had actually blocked up *Waterford*, when about the middle of *May*, by a new order, or rather requeſt of the parliament, he was obliged to leave the finiſhing of his conqueſts to his ſon-in-law *Ireton*, whom, for that purpoſe, he conſtituted lord-deputy. And ſo fortunate was *Ireton* in his commiſſion, that tho' he died of the plague in a year and a half after, he took *Waterford* and *Limerick*, and left very few places in the hands of the enemy.

Cromwell was in *Ireland* about nine months, in which time he performed more than any king or queen of *England* had been able to do in a greater number of years. Before he left the kingdom, in order to weaken the *Iriſh*, he contrived means for tranſporting no leſs than forty thouſand of them out of their country into foreign ſervice, few of whom ever returned again. He alſo ſettled the civil affairs, and procured a more ſummary way of adminiſtring juſtice than ever was yet known: After which he embarked for *England*, and ſailed home, as it were, in triumph. At *Briſtol* he was twice ſaluted by the great guns, and welcomed in with many other demonſtrations of joy. On *Hounſlow-Heath*

he was met by general *Fairfax*, many members of parliament and officers of the army, and multitudes of the common people. Coming to *Hyde-Park*, the great guns were fired off, and colonel *Barkſtead*'s regiment, that was drawn up for that purpoſe, gave him ſeveral vollies with their ſmall arms. Thus in a triumphant manner he entered *London*, amidſt a croud of attendants, friends and citizens, and was received with the higheſt acclamations. And having reſumed his place in parliament, the ſpeaker, in an elegant ſpeech, returned him the thanks of the houſe for his great and faithful ſervices in *Ireland*. After which, the lord-lieutenant gave them a particular account of the ſtate and condition of that kingdom.

Cromwell's *war againſt the* Scots, *under king* Charles *the ſecond, till he totally routs them at the battle of* Worceſter.

THE laſt war in which *Cromwell* was perſonally engaged, was againſt the *Scots*, and other partizans of king *Charles* the ſecond. In leſs than a month after his return from *Ireland*, he was employed in this new expedition, which took him up much time and labour; the *Scots*, upon the late king's death, had proclaimed his ſon their ſovereign, and ſent commiſſioners to the *Hague*, to acquaint his majeſty on what terms they would receive him; the chief of which was, "That he ſhould conform to both the covenants, and oblige others to do the ſame." The treaty between them was long on foot, his majeſty, in the mean time, ſhifting from place to place for his ſecurity; till at laſt, by his granting a commiſſion to the marquis of *Montroſe*, who was not beloved by the kirk, the king had like to have ſpoil'd all. But upon the execution of the marquis, and a freſh application from the covenanters, he conſented in *June* 1650, to all their demands, and arrived in *Scotland* on the 16th of that month, having ſigned the covenants before he ſet foot on ſhore.

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The parliament of *Scotland*, hereupon, began to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice, with which it was ſuppoſed, they intended to invade *England*. While theſe preparations were carrying on in *Scotland*, the commonwealth here were providing for their own ſecurity; and it was with a view to this, that they had ſent for *Cromwell* from *Ireland*. He, as ſoon as he arrived, perſuaded the council not to be behind-hand with the enemy, but to prevent the *Scots* from invading of *England*, by carrying the war directly into *Scotland*. Some ſcrupulous men, however, and among them general *Fairfax*, objected to this, as being contrary to the covenant between the two nations. To which it was anſwered, "That the *Scots* had already broken the covenant, and that therefore it was not now binding on the one ſide, after it had been diſſolved on the other." So that they at length came to this reſolution, "That having a formed army, well provided and experienced, they would march it forthwith into *Scotland*, to prevent the *Scots* marching into *England*, and the miſeries that might attend ſuch an invaſion." The lord-general *Fairfax* being again conſulted herein, ſeemed at firſt to like the deſign; but having been afterwards perſuaded by the preſbyterian miniſters, and his own lady, who was a great patroneſs of them, he declared, "That he was not ſatisfied, that there was a juſt ground for the parliament of *England* to ſend their army to invade *Scotland*; but in caſe the *Scots* ſhould invade *England*, then he was ready to engage againſt them in defence of his own country." The council of ſtate being ſomewhat troubled at the lord-general's ſcruples, appointed a committee to confer with him, in order to ſatisfy him of the juſtneſs of this untertaking. The chief members of this committee were *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, *St. John*, and *Whitelock*, &c.

Cromwell opened the conference; and after ſome previous diſcourſe between the lord-general and the committee, his excellency acquainted them with the ground

ground of his diſſatisfaction, declaring, "That he did not ſee the *Scots* had given ſufficient cauſe for this invaſion of their country by the *Engliſh*." Upon which *Cromwell* proceeded thus: "I confeſs, my lord, that if they had given no cauſe to invade them, it would not be juſtifiable for us to do it; and to make war upon them without a ſufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conſcience we ought to do, and diſpleaſing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordſhip knows they have done ſince the national league and covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of duke *Hamilton*, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and ſo the act of the whole nation by their repreſentatives; and if they now give us too much cauſe of ſuſpicion, that they intend another invaſion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the aſſent or privity of this common-wealth; and are very buſy at this preſent in raiſing forces and money to carry on their deſign: If theſe things are not a ſufficient ground and cauſe for us to endeavour to provide for the ſafety of our own country, and to prevent the miſeries which an invaſion of the *Scots* would bring upon us, I humbly ſubmit to your excellency's judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleaſed to bleſs us with ſucceſs againſt them: And that they now intend a new invaſion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of it, as we can have of any thing that is not yet acted. Therefore I ſay, my lord, that upon theſe grounds, I think we have a moſt juſt cauſe to begin, or rather to return and requite our hoſtily firſt begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God ſhall be pleaſed to aſſiſt us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great miſery and calamity of having an army of *Scots* within our country. That there will be a war between us, I

fear

fear is unavoidable: Your excellency will ſoon determine, whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country, or of our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think is without ſcruple." But no arguments could prevail on the general, who declared that his conſcience was not ſatisfied as to the juſtice of this war; and therefore, that he might be no hindrance to the parliament's deſigns, he deſired to lay down his commiſſion. Upon which *Cromwell* ſpoke again, as follows:

"I am very ſorry your lordſhip ſhould have thoughts of laying down your commiſſion, by which God hath bleſſed you in the performance of ſo many eminent ſervices for the parliament. I pray, my lord, conſider all your faithful ſervants, us who are under you, and deſire to ſerve under no other general. It would be a great diſcouragement to all of us, and a great diſcouragement to the affairs of the parliament for our noble general to entertain any thoughts of laying down his commiſſion. I hope your lordſhip will never give ſo great an advantage to the publick enemy, nor ſo much diſhearten your friends, as to think of laying down your commiſſion." But all this would not do; the general continued in the ſame mind, and concluding thus: "What would you have me do? As far as my conſcience will give way, I am willing to join with you ſtill in the ſervice of the parliament; but where the conſcience is not ſatisfied, none of you, I am ſure, will engage in any ſervice; and that is my condition in this, and therefore I muſt deſire to be excuſed."

Cromwell and the other officers in this committee were more earneſt in perſuading the general to continue his commiſſion; and yet, 'tis ſaid, there is cauſe enough to believe that they did not overmuch deſire it. *Ludlow* ſays, that *Cromwell* preſs'd the council of ſtate, that notwithſtanding the unwillingneſs of the lord *Fairfax* to command upon this occaſion, they would yet continue him to be general

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of the army, profeſſing for his own part, "that he would rather chuſe to ſerve under him in his poſt, than to ſerve the greateſt army in *Europe*." He alſo informs us, that the forementioned committee was appointed upon the motion of lieutenant general *Cromwell*, "who, ſays he, acted his part to the life, that I really thought him in earneſt."

Thus *Cromwell* and his army carried it againſt the general, who thereupon laid down his commiſſion; tho' he was ſeemingly much perſuaded to the contrary. The parliament were at no loſs for one to ſucceed in the great office; for having ſufficiently experienced the valour, conduct and faithfulneſs of *Cromwell*, who had in fact been long at the head of the army, tho' only lieutenant general in name, they ſoon voted, one and all, that he ſhould be their general; and ſo an act paſſed, "for conſtituting and appointing *Oliver Cromwell*, eſq; to be captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed, by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of *England*."

Before his departure for *Scotland*, *Cromwell* moved the council, that he might be eaſed of the affairs of *Ireland*. But he could only obtain to have five others joined with him in the commiſſion for governing that kingdom, who were *Ludlow*, *Ireton*, colonel *John Jones*, major *Salway*, and one mr. *Weaver*; any three of whom were to make a committee. And now the lord-general ſet out for the north, after the army, and received great demonſtrations of reſpect as he paſſed along. At *York* he was attended, and magnificently entertained by the corporation; but ſtaid no longer than to order ſupplies for the army.

The committee of eſtates in *Scotland*, before this, ſeemed to be ſurpriſed at the news of an *Engliſh* army's marching northwards. They ſent a letter to the ſpeaker of the *Engliſh* parliament, "ſetting forth their conſternation, and declared that the forces they were raiſing were only for their own defence; de-

ſiring

ſiring to know, whether the *Engliſh* army, now on their march, was to act on the offenſive or defenſive?" They wrote alſo to ſir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, governor of *Newcaſtle*, major-general *Lambert*, and the lord general *Cromwell*, in much the ſame terms. On the other hand, the parliament of *England* publiſhed a declaration of the grounds and reaſons of their army's advance, "accuſing the *Scots* of acting contrary to agreement, and having invaded *England* before under duke *Hamilton*, and now preparing for another invaſion, in proclaiming *Charles Stuart* king of *England* and *Ireland*, tho' they had no authority in theſe kingdoms; and in declaring againſt the *Engliſh* parliament and army, as ſectaries, and ranking them with malignants and papiſts."

The *Scots*, perceiving that the parliament of *England* was not to be impoſed on, laboured by all poſſible means to render their army odious; and likewiſe terrified the common people by miſrepreſentations of *Cromwell*'s commiſſion, as he was to deſtroy all he met with, that they were hardly ſatisfied by a declaration of the lord-general and the army, "reminding them of the behaviour of the *Engliſh* forces that were before in *Scotland*, and proteſting that none but thoſe who had endeavoured to engage foreign princes againſt the common-wealth of *England*, or had exerciſed actual hoſtility, ſhould have the leaſt violence offered to them, either in body or goods."

In the mean time leaving *York*, *Cromwell* came to *Northallerton* and *Darlington*, being ſaluted as he paſſed by, with the ordnance. At *Durham* he was met by ſir *Arthur Haſlerigg*, who conducted him to *Newcaſtle*, and there gallantly entertained him. From *Newcaſtle* he haſtened to *Berwick*, and cauſed a general review of the army on *Haggerton-Moor*, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, by a gallant body of five thouſand horſe, and eleven thouſand foot. From *Berwick* he ſent the army's declaration into *Scotland*, containing the ſignification of their march into that kingdom. One

copy

copy whereof was conveyed to the *Scotch* general, another to the parliament, and a third to the committee of eſtates.

While the lord-general was thus upon the verge of *Scotland*, he drew out the army upon a hill, in the bounds of *Berwick*, where they had a full proſpect of the adjacent country, and made a ſpeech to them, exhorting them to be faithful and courageous, and then not to doubt of a bleſſing from God, and all encouragement from himſelf." This ſpeech was anſwered with loud and unanimous acclamations from the ſoldiers; and being ordered to march, entered *Scotland* with a ſhout. That night they quartered near the lord *Mordington*'s caſtle, where the general cauſed proclamation to be made, that none, on pain of death, ſhould offer violence to the perſons or effects of any in *Scotland* not found in arms; and that none, on the ſame penalty, ſhould ſtraggle half a mile from their quarters, without ſpecial licence."

The next day they arrived at *Dunbar*, where they were ſupplied with proviſions, by ſhips ſent thither from *England* for that purpoſe, the *Scots* taking care, beforehand, that the country from *Berwick* to *Edinburgh* ſhould afford them nothing. From *Dunbar* they marched to *Haddington*, within twelve miles of *Edinburgh*: And in all this march they did not ſee one *Scotchman* under ſixty years of age, nor any youth above ſix, and but very few women and children, the *Scotch* miniſters having aſſured the people, "that the *Engliſh* would cut the throats of all the men between ſixty and ſixteen years of age, cut off the right hands of all the youth between ſixteen and ſix, burn the women's breaſts with hot irons, and deſtroy all before them."

After the army's remove from *Haddington*, they underſtood that the enemy was diſpoſed to give them battle on a heath called *Gladſmoor*. The *Engliſh* hereupon took care to poſſeſs themſelves of the place before them; bur the *Scots* did not think fit to appear,

pear, notwithſtanding that the general did all that lay in his power to provoke them to it. Some ſkirmiſhes however happened about the poſſeſſion of *Arthur's Hill*, which the *Engliſh* made themſelves maſters of.

As he could not draw the *Scots* to action, *Cromwell* intended to have begun with them; but was prevented by a great rain, and obliged to draw off his army towards *Muſcleborough*. The enemy, upon his retreat, did all they could to diſtreſs his army, and put his rear-guard into ſome confuſion; but were ſoon repulſed by major-general *Lambert*, and colonel *Whalley*, the king ſtanding all the while on a caſtle to ſee the encounter. Between three and four of the clock the next morning, the *Engliſh* were attacked in their quarters at *Muſcleborough*, with great fury, the enemy being animated by ſome of their miniſters; but victory was ſtill on their ſide, for they routed the *Scots*, and purſued them within half a league of *Edinburgh*, killed ſeveral, and had taken many priſoners. *Cromwell* got much applauſe after this action, by ſending the chief of the *Scotch* officers, who were wounded and taken, in his own coach to *Edinburgh*. This vindicated him, in a great meaſure, from the reports that had been given out of his cruelty.

Having marched again to *Dunbar*, to take in freſh ſupplies, the general gave away a great quantity of corn among the poor of the place, who were in extreme want. In the mean time the *Scots* miniſters at *Edinburgh*, imagining he was quite retired, gave publick thanks to God, for putting terror into the hearts of the *Engliſh* ſectaries; but his ſudden return to *Muſcleborough* made them aſhamed of what they had done, and proved that general *Leſley*, who was not ſo confident as to be off his guard, could judge better of events than his enthuſiaſtical teachers.

An equivocal meſſage now arriving from *Leſley*, concerning the ſtate of the preſent difference, and full of inſipid diſtinctions about the king and the

cauſe; the *Engliſh* general gave him to underſtand that he was not to be thus amuſed, but would take the intentions of the *Scots* from what they had continued to act, concluding, "That if *Leſley* was reſolved to come to battle, he had a fair opportunity of doing it, otherwiſe to what purpoſe did they both wait?"

Finding he could not provoke the *Scots* to an engagement, *Cromwell* removed to *Pencland Hills*, and there pitched his tents within ſight of *Edinburgh*. About the ſame time he executed a ſerjeant, for plundering a houſe contrary to his declaration. He alſo took in ſome ſmall garriſons, and at the requeſt of the *Scots* appointed a conference, in which he was aſſured, "that when opportunity ſerved, it ſhould be ſeen that they wanted not courage to give him battle." While he lay here, he advanced one day at the head of a party, in order to ſhew how ready he was to engage; when one of the *Scots*, who knew him, fired a carbine at him; upon which *Cromwell* called out with great compoſure, and told him, "that if he had been one of his ſoldiers, he ſhould have been caſhiered for firing ſo wide of the mark."

It would be tedious to recite all that paſſed between the two armies, before they actually came to an engagement. *Cromwell*, ſays father *Orleans*, whoſe intereſt it was to come ſoon to a battle, in a country where his army found nothing to ſubſiſt on, marched directly to the enemy, who lay encamped between *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, to cover thoſe two places, and the heart of the country. The cunning *Engliſhman* tried all ways to draw *Leſley* to fight; but he underſtood his trade, and it being his intereſt to protract time, ſo to ruin the enemy's army, which had neither ammunition nor proviſions but what came from *England* at a great charge, he kept himſelf ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that *Cromwell* durſt not attack him. The *Engliſh* general uſed all baits and ſtratagems known in war to oblige the *Scot* to fight him; ſometimes

times drawing him towards *Dunbar*, as if he would have beſieged *Edinburgh*, and again moving to get between *Sterling* and him. But the *Scot* dexterouſly avoided thoſe ſnares; and tho' the *Engliſh* army kept cloſe with them, he ſo ordered his motions, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly, that the whole month of *Auguſt* was ſpent in theſe counter-marches, ſo tedious to a man of *Cromwell*'s ſpirit, who could never meet with an opportunity either to fight in the open field, or attack his enemy in his camp."

At laſt, on the 30th of *Auguſt*, *Cromwell* drew out his army from *Muſcleborough*, and marched towards *Haddington*. The *Scots* obſerving the *Engliſh* army to retire, followed them cloſe; and falling upon the rear-guard of horſe in the night, having the advantage of a clear moon, beat them up to the rear-guard of foot. Which alarm, coming ſuddenly upon them, put them into ſome diſorder. But the *Scots* wanting courage to proſecute the advantage, and withal, a cloud overſhadowing the moon, gave the *Engliſh* an opportunity to ſecure themſelves, and cover the main body. Being come to *Haddington*, where they were in continual danger of being aſſaulted by the enemy, the general ordered a ſtrict watch to be kept, to prevent the worſt. The *Scots* conceiving they had now more than ordinary advantage, about midnight attempted the *Engliſh* quarters on the weſt end of the town; but were ſoon repulſed and ſent farther off. The next day, being the firſt of *September*, the *Scots* being drawn up at the weſt end of the town, in a very advantageous place, the *Engliſh* drew out on the eaſt into an open field, very fit for both armies to engage in; where having waited ſome hours for the coming of the *Scots*, and perceiving they would not fight but upon an advantage, they, purſuant to their former reſolution, marched away to *Dunbar*.

The *Scotch* army followed at a convenient diſtance, being reinforced with the addition of three regiments; and ſeeing the *Engliſh* lodged in *Dunbar*, hovering

vering about them upon the adjacent hills, like a thick cloud, threatning nothing but ruin and deſtruction, and looking down upon them as their ſure prey.

The lord general was now in great diſtreſs, and look'd on himſelf as undone. His army was in a very weak and ſickly condition, and in great want of proviſions, whereby their courage alſo was very much abated, while the *Scots* were ſtout and hearty in their own country, and upon very advantageous ground; and beſides, they more than doubled the *Engliſh* in number, being about twenty-ſeven thouſand, whereas the others were but twelve thouſand. Some ſay they had in their army about thirty thouſand horſe and foot; and the *Engliſh* were reduced to ten thouſand at moſt. General *Cromwell*, with this ſickly company, was now hemed in on every ſide by thoſe greater numbers of his enemies, who, to make ſure work, had alſo by a ſtrong party ſecured *Coberſpath*, the only paſs between him and *Berwick*, thereby to hinder all proviſions or relief from thence, and to cut off all retreat from the *Engliſh* army, who had not above three days forage for their horſes. Thus were they reduced to the utmoſt ſtraits, ſo that they had now no way left, but either to give up themſelves a prey to their inſulting enemies, or to fight upon theſe unequal terms, and under thoſe great diſadvantages.

In this extremity the lord general, on the ſecond of *September*, called a council of war, in which, after ſome debate, it was reſolved to fall upon the enemy the next morning, about an hour before day; and accordingly the ſeveral regiments were ordered to their reſpective poſts. Here we are told by Biſhop *Burnet*, that *Cromwell*, under theſe preſſing difficulties, called his officers together to ſeek the lord, as they expreſſed it; after which, he bid all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard him, and would appear for them. Then walking in the earl of *Roxborough*'s gardens, that lay under the hill, and

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by proſpective glaſſes diſcerning a great motion in the *Scotch* camp; *Cromwell* thereupon ſaid, "God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us." And the biſhop ſays, that *Cromwell* loved to talk much of that matter all his life-time afterwards.

The *Scots*, it ſeems, had now at laſt reſolved to fight the *Engliſh*, and to that end were coming down the hill; where, if they had continued, the *Engliſh* could not have gone up to engage them without very great diſadvantage. This reſolution was contrary to *Leſley*'s opinion, who, tho' he was in the chief command, had a committee of ſtates to give him his orders, among whom *Wariſtoun* was one. Theſe being weary of lying in the fields, thought that *Leſley* did not make haſte enough to deſtroy the army of the ſectaries, as they called them. *Leſley*, on the other hand, told them, that by lying there all was ſure, but that by engaging in action with brave and deſperate men, all might be loſt; and yet they preſſed him to fall on. Many have imagined that there was treachery in all this; but the afore-mentioned author ſays, he was perſuaded there was no treachery in it; only *Wariſtoun* was too hot, and *Leſley* was too cold, and yielded too eaſily to their humours, which he ſhould not have done. This reſolution of the *Scots* to fall upon the *Engliſh* was ſome time retarded by the unſeaſonableneſs of the weather; and in the mean while, as we have already obſerved, *Cromwell* reſolved to fall upon them.

The night before the battle proving very rainy and tempeſtuous, the lord general took more than ordinary care of himſelf and his army. He refreſhed his men in the town, and above all things ſecured his match-locks againſt the weather, whilſt his enemies neglected theirs. The *Scots* were all the night employed in coming down the hill; and early in the morning, being *Tueſday* the third of *September* before they were put in order, general *Cromwell* drew out a ſtrong party of horſe, and falling upon the

the horſe-guards, made them retire. Then immediately his armies both horſe and foot advancing, the fight ſoon grew hot on all ſides; till after an hour's diſpute, the whole numerous army of the *Scots* was totally routed. Two regiments ſtood their ground, and were almoſt all killed in their ranks. The reſt fled, and were purſued as far as *Haddington* with great execution. About four thouſand were ſlain on the place and in the purſuit, and ten thouſand taken priſoners, many of whom were deſperately wounded. Fifteen thouſand arms, all the artillery and ammunition, with above two hundred colours, were taken; and all with the loſs of ſcarce three hundred *Engliſh*. Priſoners of note were ſir *James Lumſdale* lieutenant-general of the foot, the lord *Libberton* (who ſoon after died of his wounds) adjutant-general *Bickerton* ſcout-maſter *Campbel*, ſir *William Douglas*, the lord *Grandiſon*, and colonel *Gordon*; beſides twelve lieutenant-colonels, ſix majors, forty-two captains, and ſeventy-five lieutenants. The two *Leſleys* eſcaped to *Edinburgh*, which upon the news of this defeat was immediately quitted by his garriſon, and *Leith* reſolved to admit the conquerors, being not able to keep them out.

Thus this formidable army, which had ſo lately triumphed in a confident aſſurance of victory, was totally defeated by one not half ſo numerous, which at the ſame time was reduced almoſt to the laſt extremity. But this extremity making them fix upon a firm reſolution, either to conquer or to die, and withal, their falling ſo ſuddenly upon the *Scots*, when they ſo little expected them, but deſigned firſt to fall upon them, ſeem to be the occaſion of this wonderful turn of affairs. The lord general himſelf drew up a narrative of this memorable victory, and ſent it by a courier to the council of ſtate, who ordered it to be read in all the churches of *London*, with ſolemn thankſgiving; and the colours taken in this battle being ſent up to the parliament, were by their order hung up as trophies in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.

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This great action (the moſt critical one that ever *Cromwell* was engaged in, and which for that reaſon we have related more particularly than many others) being thus happily ended, the *Engliſh* ſoldiers were inſpired with new courage. The lord general, ſoon after this battle was over, ſent *Lambert* to attempt *Edinburgh*, the capital, and ſecure *Leith*, that the *Engliſh* ſhips might the more conveniently ſupply the army. *Lambert* took poſſeſſion of both on the ſame day, they having been deſerted by the *Scots*, and found there ſeveral pieces of ordnance, many arms, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſions. But tho' the *Engliſh* were maſters of the town, *Edinburgh* caſtle ſtill remained in the hands of the enemy; yet this, tho' judged impregnable, was at laſt reduced by our victorious general.

Several things paſſed before the ſiege of that fortreſs was undertaken. *Cromwell* invited the *Edinburgh* miniſters in the caſtle to return to their cures, which they obſtinately refuſed, pretending they had no ſecurity for their perſons. On this occaſion ſeveral letters paſſed between the general, the governor, and theſe miniſters, who ſtill perſiſted in their ſtiff-necked way, the general cauſed *Engliſh* miniſters to officiate in their places. The chief magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*, the committees of the church and ſtate, and the remains of the army from *Dunbar*, all retired to *Sterling*, in order to recover their ſtrength. But all the methods they could uſe ſignified little; for the *Scots* were divided among themſelves, and ſplit into many parties and factions, which *Cromwell*, no doubt, knew how to manage to his advantage, while the motions of his army round about *Edinburgh* kept the whole country in awe. Several places, in the mean time, were taken by his deputies, and a conſiderable victory was gained by *Lambert* over colonel *Ker*, at *Hamilton*; whereby the power of the remonſtrators, one of the moſt violent parties then ſubſiſting, was entirely ruined.

The taking of *Edinburgh* caſtle ſoon followed, this being

being the moſt conſiderable ſtrong hold in *Scotland*, having all the requiſite advantages both of nature and art. It is ſeated upon a high abrupt rock, has but one entrance, and that ſteep, and by which only two or three can go abreaſt; beſides, it overlooks and commands all the places about it; ſo that *Cromwell*'s men were often galled by the cannon from thence, their quarters at *Edinburgh*.

When *Cromwell* came firſt before this ſtrong place, which was not long after the defeat at *Dunbar*, he ſummoned the governor, colonel *Dundaſs*, to deliver it up to him; which having no effect, he began to conſult how to reduce it by force. Nothing encouraged the attempting it by ſtorm, and all probable ways being debated, it was at laſt reſolved to force it by mines. In order for this work, miners were ſent for, and towards the latter end of *September*, the galleries were begun in the night, which the beſieged no ſooner ſaw, but they fell to firing upon them. But this proved no impediment to the *Engliſh*, who, with indefatigable labour, wrought thro' the earth till they came to the main rock. This put them to a ſtand, but did not make them give over; for having made holes in the rock, they filled them full of powder, and endeavoured to make it fly by firing.

But this mining work going but ſlowly on, the lord general, fearing he ſhould not be able to blow the caſtle into the air, endeavoured now to level it with the ground; and to that end, he raiſed a battery fortify'd with gabions and other contrivances, deſigning to play inceſſantly from thence with cannons and mortars. The governor was very much amazed at this, and began to think it a vain thing to endeavour to withſtand the *Engliſh*; tho' he did his utmoſt to anſwer the expectations of thoſe by whom he was entruſted. The battery being raiſed to a convenient height, four mortar-pieces and ſix battering guns were forthwith mounted againſt the caſtle; but before the word of command was given, the

the lord general thought fit once more to ſummon the governor in the following terms: "That he being reſolved to uſe ſuch means as were put into his hands, for the reducing of the caſtle, did, for preventing further miſery, demand the rendering of the place to him upon fit conditions." To this the governor returned this Anſwer, "That being entruſted by the eſtates of *Scotland*, for the keeping of the caſtle, he could not deliver it up without leave from them; and therefore he deſired ten days time to ſend to them, and receive their anſwer." But the lord general knowing his time was precious, made this ſudden reply, "That it concerned him not to know the obligations of them that truſted him; but that he might have honourable terms for himſelf, and thoſe that were with him; but he could not give liberty to him to conſult with the committee of eſtates."

'Twas deſigned that this parley ſhould continue two days; but ſome great ſhot flying from the caſtle before, order was given to try the mortar-pieces, three with ſhells, and four with ſtones. Which being done accordingly, the governor returned an anſwer to the general's laſt meſſage; in which "he adjured him that liberty might be granted to him to ſend to the committee of eſtates; and ſaid, that he would be very willing to receive information from thoſe of his countrymen whom he could truſt." To this the general replied, "That whoever he would appoint to come to him, ſhould have liberty for one hour; but to ſend to the committee of eſtates he could not grant." The governor took no notice of this, till the mortar-pieces and great guns had for ſome ſmall time play'd againſt the caſtle. This moved him to ſend forth a drum, deſiring a conference with the provoſt of *Aberdeen*, and one more then in *Edinburgh*; to which the general readily conſented: But they knowing it to be an affair of the utmoſt importance, refuſed to concern themſelves in it, leaving the governor to take his own

courſe. Hereupon *Dundaſs* was in great perplexity, till having reſolved the matter in his mind, he at laſt came to this reſolution, to acquit himſelf manfully in the defence of the place. Accordingly a red enſign was immediately hung out in defiance, and the great guns began to roar from the battlements of the wall. Upon this, the lord general ſent in upon them ſuch continual ſhowers of ſhot, that the governor in a ſhort time offered to ſurrender, if his former requeſt, of ſending to the committee, might be granted. This being ſtill refuſed, *Dundaſs* thought it not proper to hold out any longer againſt ſuch violent aſſaults; and ſo entering upon a treaty with the lord general, came to an agreement; firſt, that the caſtle, the cannons, arms, ammunition, and furniture of war, be delivered up to *Cromwell*; ſecondly, that the *Scots* have liberty to carry away their publick regiſters, publick moveables, private evidences and writs; thirdly, that thoſe goods in the caſtle belonging to any perſon, the owners ſhould have them reſtored; fourthly, that the governor, and all military officers and ſoldiers, might depart without moleſtation, to *Brunt-Iſland* in *Fife*.

According to theſe articles, this ſtrong caſtle that gloried in its virginity, as having never before yielded to any conqueror, was, after a ſiege of three months delivered up to *Cromwell* on the 24th day of *December*; whereby there alſo fell into his hands fifty-three pieces of ordnance, ſome of them remarkable both for ſize and beauty, eight thouſand arms, fourſcore barrels of powder, and all the king's hangings, tapeſtry and jewels. The ſubduing of this place was ſo unexpected by ſeveral, that the *Scots* cried out, "That *Cromwell* took it only by ſilver bullets." But what appeared moſt ſtrange to others, and which made well on *Cromwell*'s ſide, was, that the *Scotch* army, which lay not very far off, ſhould never attempt the relief of this moſt important place.

The *Scots* were now intent upon the coronation of

of their king, which had been long delayed, that he might "humble himſelf for his father's ſins, and his own tranſgreſſions." But the vigorous proceedings of the *Engliſh* put them upon haſtening what of themſelves they were backward enough in; ſo on the firſt of *January* this ſolemnity was performed at *Scone*, his majeſty firſt ſubſcribing both the covenants. And now, in order to raiſe a powerful army, all perſons were promiſcuouſly admitted, and great numbers of honorary volunteers flocked to the king's ſtandard at *Aberdeen*. From thence he marched to *Sterling*, where having muſtered his army, he made duke *Hamilton* lieutenant general, *Leſley* major-general, *Middleton* major-general of horſe, and *Maſſey* general of the *Engliſh* troops.

Cromwell, who obſerved theſe proceedings, was little concerned at them. He endeavoured, however, to ſecure all the garriſons ſouth of *Firth*; to which end he ordered colonel *Fenwick* to reduce *Hume* caſtle. *Fenwick* immediately applied himſelf to the work, and having drawn up his men before the place, ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender; but the governor, one *Cockburn*, returned a quibbling anſwer; however, he did not continue long in this humour; for *Fenwick* having planted a battery, and made a breach in the caſtle, was invited to a parley juſt as he was about to enter. But he would allow only quarters for life; which being accepted, the garriſon marched out, and captain *Collinſon* took poſſeſſion of it for the parliament. About the ſame time colonel *Monk* reduced *Tantallan* caſtle after a vigorous defence.

The king and his party were now very active, and had got together an army of twenty thouſand men: But the earl of *Eglinton*, with ſome other commanders, going into the weſt to raiſe recruits, were ſeized by *Lilburn*, and ſent priſoners to *Edinburgh*.

The *Engliſh* parliament, all this while, had a ſpecial regard to their army in *Scotland*; ſo careful were

were they to furniſh them with men, money, and proviſions, and as no army could better deſerve it, ſo no army ever had more encouragement. Yet both parliament and army ſuffered a great affliction in the ſickneſs of their general, who was now wholly confined to his chamber; and his not acting in perſon, made the *Scots* believe, and confidently report, that he was certainly dead. To convince them however of their miſtake, he ordered a *Scotch* trumpeter, and was ſent to the *Engliſh* on a particular affair, to be brought before him, being then on the mending hand. But he relapſed ſoon after, and was in more danger than ever; yet the goodneſs of his conſtitution overcame his diſtemper, with the help of two eminent phyſicians that were ſent him by the parliament; ſo that he did not think fit to accept of the parliament's offer, of returning into *England* before his buſineſs was done.

As ſoon as he was able to appear abroad, he conſulted with his chief officers about carrying on the war. He encamped again on *Pencland Hills*, a place well known to the *Engliſh* army. From *Pencland Hills* he marched to *Newbridge*, and from *Newbridge* to *Lithgow*, where from the battlements of the caſtle he could diſcern the *Scotch* army, as it lay encamped at *Torwood*, near *Sterling*, all guarded round with regular fortifications. Tho' the *Engliſh* could not poſſibly drive them out of this faſtneſs, yet the lord general, to provoke them to fight, marched his army in battalia before them, and ſtood in poſture eight hours. He finding all this ineffectual, drew off to *Glaſgow*, in order to refreſh his men; which being done, he again purſued the *Scotch* army, who had now removed their camp, and in their ſight ſtorm'd and took *Calendar-Houſe*, a place of conſiderable ſtrength, and reſolutely defended.

Finding he could by no means bring the *Scotch* to a battle, *Cromwell* ſent colonel *Overton*, with near two thouſand foot and horſe, to make an attempt on *Fife*, in order to cut off all ſupplies from the ene-

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my. *Overton* croſſed the *Forth*, and landed his army at *North-Ferry*, in ſpite of the ſhowers of ſhot that were poured on him from the ſhore: He was followed by *Lambert* and *Okey*, with two regiments of horſe, and two of foot. The king now ſent four thouſand men under major-general *Brown* and colonel *Holborn*, to drive the *Engliſh* back again over the *Forth*; but they were entirely defeated by *Oliver*'s party, two thouſand of them being killed on the ſpot, and moſt of the reſt taken priſoners; among the latter was major-general *Brown* himſelf, who died ſoon after, for grief, as it was thought, of this misfortune.

The *Engliſh* took in garriſons almoſt as faſt as they approached them: That of *Inneſgary* was ſo terrified at the late defeat, that they ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons to *Lambert*, leaving behind them all their proviſions, ammunition, and arms, except their ſwords. The king himſelf and his whole army were in ſuch conſternation, that they ſuddenly decamped from *Torwood*, and marched into *Sterling Park*. *Cromwell* followed them cloſe at their heels, and paſſing over the ground where they ſo lately lay, he found there all their ſick men, and a conſiderable quantity of military ſtores, which ſhewed in what a panick they left the place.

Cromwell's attempts were ſtill in vain; for the *Scots* would not come to an engagement. Hereupon he marched to *Lithgow*, and ſent the greateſt part of his men over the *Forth*, in order to carry on the war in *Fife*. At *Leith*, whither he retired in perſon to provide for the ſupport of his ſoldiers, he receiv'd the welcome news of the ſurrender of *Brunt Iſland* to *Lambert*; which place was of great advantage to the *Engliſh*, being a commodious harbour for the landing of ſtores.

Soon after he croſſed the *Forth* himſelf, and drawing the greateſt part of his army from *Brunt Iſland*, with the train of artillery, he went to St. *John's-town*, the taking of which, he knew, would prevent the

the *Highlanders* from ſending any ſupplies, either of men or proviſions, to *Sterling*. But, contrary to his expectation, the meſſenger whom he ſent to ſummon it, was denied admittance, and returned back with this ſhort anſwer from the townſmen, "That they were not in a Condition to receive letters." The reaſon of this was, as it afterwards appeared, that the lord *Duffus* had the day before entered the town with one thouſand three hundred men. But the lord general *Cromwell*, upon the refuſal of a new ſummons which he ſent, immediately drained the water out of the moats about the town, and falling to batter the walls, obliged the lord *Duffus* to ſurrender in one day's time.

Theſe wonderful ſucceſſes of *Cromwell* in *Scotland*, threw the king in great perplexity, and put him upon making an irruption into *England*. His fate depended upon the ſucceſs of one battle, and being much nearer to *England* than *Cromwell*, who could not overtake him till ſeveral days, he was in hopes to ſtrengthen himſelf greatly, by the coming in of the well affected in the north. The thing being reſolved, his majeſty ſent expreſſes to all his friends, that they might be ready to receive him, and on the 6th of *Auguſt* entered *England* by the way of *Carliſle*, with about ſixteen thouſand men. This ſudden invaſion alarmed the whole *Britiſh* nation, eſpecially the parliament, and were at this time ready to cenſure the conduct of their general. But he aſſured them by letter, "that he ſhould overtake the enemy, and give a good account of them before they came to *London*." Accordingly he ordered *Lambert* to follow the king immediately with ſeven or eight hundred horſe, and to draw as many others as he could from the country militia; and to moleſt the king's march as much as poſſible, by being near, and obliging him to march cloſe; not engaging his own party in any ſharp action, except a manifeſt advantage, but keeping himſelf entire till the army came up.

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The militia of moſt counties was drawn into the field, in order to obſtruct the king's march. An order was publiſhed, declaring, "That no perſon ſhould hold any correſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, or his party, or give them encouragement or aſſiſtance, under pain of high-treaſon." Thus *Cromwell* having ſettled the affairs of *Scotland*, and left *Monk* with a ſtrong party, to ſecure that kingdom, entered *England* with the remainder of the army; and on the 12th of *Auguſt* croſſed the *Tine*, upon the banks of which river he gave the ſoldiers ſome repoſe; the corporation of *Newcaſtle*, in the mean time, bringing them plenty of proviſions.

The king's army marched thro' *Lancaſhire*, where at the head of it he was proclaimed, as he paſſed by, in all the market-towns: But he met not with that encouragement which he expected; beſides, the *Scots* daily deſerted him; the countries did not come in as he expected they would, being continually obſtructed by the forces of the commonwealth. The paſſage of *Warrington* bridge, in *Cheſhire*, was very much conteſted by him and *Lambert*; but at laſt his majeſty carried it; and continuing on his march with great expedition, on the 23d of *Auguſt* he came to *Worceſter*, and he entered it after ſome oppoſition; and looking upon it as a convenient place, he determined to ſettle there with his army, to wait the coming of the enemy: And that he might not be wanting in any thing that might tend to the preſervation of his forces, he ordered works to be raiſed for better ſecurity: Then he ſent a ſummons to *Mackworth* governor of *Shrewsbury*, inviting him to yield up that garriſon; to which the governor returned a peremptory denial. He alſo ſent letters to ſir *Thomas Middleton*, to raiſe forces for him in *Montgomeryſhire*; but ſir *Thomas* detained the meſſenger priſoner, and ſent up the letter to the parliament. A day or two after the king had taken up his quarters in *Worceſter*, he received the melancholy news of the defeat of the earl of *Derby*. This brave man

was the only perſon who made any conſiderable attempt to ſupport the king. He got together a body of fifteen hundered horſe; but before he could join the king's army, colonel *Lilburn* ſet upon him near *Wiggan*, and entirely routed him. The earl himſelf, being wounded, retreated into *Cheſhire*, with about eighty horſe, and from thence to the king at *Worceſter*.

In the mean time, general *Cromwell* having refreſhed his ſoldiers near *Newcaſtle*, immediately marched away by *Rippon*, *Ferry-brigs*, *Doncaſter*, *Mansfield*, and *Coventry*; and at *Keinton* joined with the reſt of the parliament's forces, under lieutenant-general *Flietwood*, major-general *Desborough*, the lord *Grey* of *Groby*, major-general *Lambert*, and major-general *Harriſon*; making in all thirty thouſand men. The common-wealth had, indeed, by their new levies, encreaſed their forces to a prodigious number; and *England* never before produced ſo many ſoldiers in ſo ſhort a time; for the ſtanding army, with thoſe other forces raiſed upon this occaſion, 'tis ſaid to have amounted to above ſixty thouſand men.

The lord general being come up, and having obſerved the poſture of the enemy's army, began with an attempt upon *Upton-bridge*, ſeven miles from *Worceſter*, deſigning there, if poſſible, to paſs his army over. *Lambert* was appointed to manage this affair, who immediately detached a ſmall party of horſe and dragoons, to ſee how feaſible the enterpriſe might be. This party coming to the bridge, found it broken down, all but one plank. Over this theſe daring Fellows paſs'd, and finding the *Scots* took the alarm, preſently betook themſelves to a church for ſecurity. Hereupon *Maſſey*, who lay at *Upton* with about ſixty dragoons, and two hundred horſe, gave a camiſado on the church; but major-general *Lambert* having paſſed over a new ſupply of horſe, fell furiouſly upon the enemy's party, and overpowering them, forced them to retreat, which *Maſ-*

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ſey, ſupported with ſo much bravery, that ſometimes facing, then fighting, and ſo falling off, himſelf brought up the rear, and never quitted his ſtation, till he arrived with his men at *Worceſter*. The bridge being thus gain'd, all poſſible induſtry was uſed to make it up; ſo that *Fleetwood*'s army quickly paſs'd over; which ſtill marching forward, they laid a bridge over the *Teame*, which falls into the *Severn*, about a mile beneath *Worceſter*; and the general, in the mean time, cauſed a bridge of boats to be laid over the *Severn* on this ſide, for the better conjunction of the army, and that the enemy might be the more ſtraightened.

The *Scots* drawing out to oppoſe *Fleetwood*'s paſſage, the lord-general reſolved to divert their deſign, or to oblige them to fight on great diſadvantage; to which end, himſelf, in perſon, led over the river two regiments of foot, colonel *Hacker*'s horſe, and his own life-guard, on that ſide of *Worceſter* which he deſigned to attack. Whilſt this was doing, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, aſſiſted by two regiments of foot, maintained a brave fight from hedge to hedge, which the *Scots* had lined thick with muſqueteers. And indeed they ſtoutly maintained their ground, till colonel *Blake*'s, *Gibbons*'s, and *Marſh*'s regiments came in, and joined with the others againſt them; upon which they retreated to *Powick-bridge*, where they were again engaged by the colonels *Haines*, *Cobbet*, and *Matthews*; but perceiving they were not able to prevail, they thought fit at laſt to ſecure themſelves by flying into *Worceſter*.

Soon after, the king calling a council of war, it was reſolved to engage *Cromwell* himſelf. Accordingly, they on a ſudden ſally'd out againſt him with ſo much fury, that his invincible life-guard could not ſuſtain the ſhock, but was forced to retire in ſome diſorder; and his cannon likewiſe were for ſome time in the power of the king's party. But multitudes of freſh forces coming in, at laſt turned the ſcale on *Cromwell*'s ſide. The battle continued for

three or four hours with great fierceneſs and various ſucceſs, till the *Scots*, being overpowered by *Cromwell*'s ſuperior force, were totally routed, flying away in great confuſion to ſecure themſelves. The horſe made as faſt as they could back again towards the north; but the foot ran into the city, being cloſely purſued by ſome of the conquerors, who furiouſly flew thro' all the ſtreets, doing ſuch terrible execution, that there was nothing to be ſeen for ſome time but blood and ſlaughter.

As ſoon as the lord-general had forced his way thro' *Sudbury* gate, whilſt his party were killing and ſlaying all they met with, he with ſome regiments ran up to the *Fort-royal*, commanded by colonel *Drummond*; and being juſt about to ſtorm, he firſt ventured thro' whole ſhowers of ſhot, to offer the *Scots* quarter, if they would ſpeedily ſubmit, and deliver up the fort; which they refuſing, he ſoon reduced it by force, and without mercy put them all to the ſword, to the number of fifteen hundred men. In the mean time, very conſiderable parties were ſent after the flying enemy, and the country every where roſe upon them.

The ſlain in this battle were reckoned about four thouſand, and the priſoners taken in the fight, and in the purſuit, amounted to about ten thouſand; ſo that near all were loſt. The chief of the priſoners were duke *Hamilton* (brother to the late duke) who died ſoon after of his wounds; the earl of *Derby*, who not long after was ſentenced to death, and loſt his head at *Bolton*; the earls of *Lauderdale*, *Carnwarth*, *Rothes*, and *Kelley*; lord *Sinclair*, ſir *John Packington*, ſir *Charles Cunningham*, ſir *Ralph Clare*, major-general *Montgomery*, major-general *Piſcotty*, mr. *Richard Fanſhaw* ſecretary to the king, the general of the ordnance, the adjutant-general of the foot; beſides ſeveral colonels, and other inferior officers. There were alſo taken all their artillery and baggage, one hundred and fifty-eight colours, the king's ſtandard, his coach and horſes, and ſeveral other

other things of great value. The king eſcaped, and having wandered ſome time in diſguiſe about *England*, he at laſt found means to embark, and landed ſafely at *Diepe* in *France*. This great victory, which was looked upon as the deciſion of the grand cauſe between the king and the common-wealth, was obtained by general *Cromwell* on the 3d of *September*, the ſame day twelvemonth that the *Scots* had ſuch a defeat given them by his forces at *Dunbar*, as loſt them their kingdom.

Cromwell having given this deadly blow to all the king's party, ſtaid no longer at *Worceſter*, than to ſee the walls of it levelled with the ground, and the dikes filled with earth, thereby to curb the diſaffection of the inhabitants. This done, he marched up in a triumphant manner to *London*, driving four or five thouſand priſoners before him. Beyond *Ayleſbury*, he was met by four commiſſioners from the parliament, whom they ſent to pay him all the marks of honour and eſteem. As ſoon as he came to *Acton* he was ſolemnly met by the ſpeaker, and the reſt of the members and council of ſtate; and ſoon after by the lord mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs, and many perſons of quality, with the militia, and multitudes of people, who welcomed him with loud ſhouts and acclamations, and ſeveral vollies of great and ſmall ſhot. *Whitelock* ſays, he carried himſelf with great affability and ſeeming humility; and in his diſcourſe about the buſineſs of *Worceſter*, would ſeldom mention any thing of himſelf, but the gallantry of the officers and ſoldiers, and gave all the glory of the action unto God.

After ſome ſmall repoſe, on the 16th of *September*, he took his place in parliament, where the ſpeaker made a ſpeech to him, congratulating his return after ſo many atchievements, and giving him the thanks of the houſe for his ſervices to the common-wealth. On the ſame day, he with his chief officers was feaſted in the city, with all poſſible ſtate and pomp; and ſoon after, two acts were drawn up, that were

were much to his honour; one for a ſolemn thankſgiving-day, and the other for a yearly obſervation of the 3d of *September*, in the three kingdoms. The parliament likewiſe ſettled 4000l. a year upon him, out of the eſtates of the duke of *Buckingham* and the marquis of *Worceſter*, beſides 2,500l. *per annum* formerly granted.

Soon after the battle of *Worceſter*, the *Iſle of Man*, bravely defended by the heroick counteſs of *Derby*, and the *Iſle of Jerſey*, that had been long maintained by ſir *George Carteret*, were both reduced to the parliament's obedience: They had long ſince been maſters of *Guernſey*, except the chief fort, called *Cornet-caſtle*, which had been a great while defended by *Roger Burges*, but was about the latter end of *October* ſurrendered by him upon very good articles. And the *Scilly* iſles, which had been the chief harbour for the king's men of war, were ſome time before reduced by a part of the parliament's fleet.

Major-general *Monk*, whom the lord-general had left in *Scotland*, to perfect the reduction of that kingdom, proceeded in his work with very good ſucceſs. Before the fight of *Worceſter*, he took *Sterling*, the chief ſtrength of the *Scots*; as alſo *Dundee*, with as terrible an execution as *Cromwell* had before uſed at *Tredagh*; and ſurpriſed a convention of the *Scotch* nobility, among whom was old general *Leſley*, and ſent them priſoners to *London*. The example that was made at *Dundee*, occaſioned ſuch a terror, that St. *Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, *Dunbarton*, and *Dunnoter* caſtles, with other towns, caſtles, and ſtrongholds, either voluntarily declared for the conquerors, or ſurrendered upon ſummons. Notwithſtanding this, the *Scots* made one attempt more, under *Middleton*, *Huntley*, *Glencarne*, and others in the *Highlands*; but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed and diſperſed by colonel *Morgan*; ſo that the *Engliſh* extended their conqueſts thro' all parts of the kingdom, even as far as the iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which now ſubmitted to them. After this, there was no more work

work for our general in the field; who therefore continued about *London* moſt of the remainder of his days.

Here I ſhall diſmiſs the affairs of *Scotland*, with the remarks that biſhop *Burnet* makes on the ſtate of that kingdom, after their abſolute reduction of it under the power of the *Engliſh*. "After this, ſays he, the country was kept in great order; ſome caſtles in the *Highlands* had garriſons put into them, that were ſo careful in their diſcipline, and ſo exact to their rules, that in no time the *Highlands* were kept in better order, than during the uſurpation: There was a conſiderable force of about ſeven or eight thouſand men kept in *Scotland*; theſe were paid exactly, and ſtrictly diſciplined. The pay of the army brought ſo much money into the kingdom, that it continued all that while in a very flouriſhing ſtate. *Cromwell* built three citadels at *Leith*, *Air*, and *Inverneſs*, beſides many little forts. There was juſtice done, and vice ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; ſo that we always reckon thoſe eight years of uſurpation, a time of great peace and proſperity: There alſo was a ſort of union of the three kingdoms in one parliament, and *Scotland* had its repreſentatives. The marquis of *Argyle* went up one of our commiſſioners."

Thus have we gone thro' *Cromwell*'s military life, and with as much brevity as poſſible, except in two or three of the principal actions, which I have taken more at large from the hiſtorians of the time. His next conqueſt was over the parliament who employed him, by another ſort of warfare, in which he was no leſs expert and ſucceſsful than in the open field. But more of that hereafter. I would only obſerve at the end of this, that with whomſoever of the great captains of antiquity we compare him, *Cromwell* is in no danger of loſing by the compariſon. Like *Lucullus*, he came to the field unexperienced, and ſhone out at once an accompliſhed general; for the rapidity of his conqueſts he might vie with *Alexander*, or, whom he more nearly reſembled, with

Julius

Julius Cæſar. That an army of veteran *Greeks*, tho' fewer in number, ſhould triumph over the effeminate *Aſians*, was what might well enough be expected; but where *Roman* was oppoſed to *Roman*, and *Briton* to *Briton*, it ſeems but an act of juſtice to aſcribe it to the generals, that one of theſe parties was for ever victorious; eſpecially if the party which prevailed, as in *Cromwell*'s caſe, appeared firſt under many diſadvantages.

Thoſe who conclude, from the ſeverity uſed at *Tredagh*, and a few other places, that *Cromwell* in his temper was ſavage and cruel, are certainly much miſtaken. We find him excuſing thoſe actions himſelf from the neceſſity of affairs, which has always been taken for a ſufficient reaſon in matters of this nature. And if we conſider the many barbarities which the *Iriſh*, for ſome years before, had been practiſing on the poor *Engliſh* proteſtants, eſpecially in the horrid maſſacre in 1641, we ſhould have no reaſon to wonder if a ſpirit of vengeance had prevailed in the *Engliſh* army, when they had it in their power to make retaliation. We ſee nothing however of this kind breaking out among them, which doubtleſs was owing, in a great meaſure, to the good conduct of the general, and the ſtrict diſcipline for which he was ſo remarkable.

It cannot be deny'd that *Cromwell*, in a multitude of inſtances, appears to have been a great maſter of diſſimulation; and if the old maxim be true, "that he who knows not how to diſſemble, knows not how to reign," we ſhall find it neceſſary for him to be ſo. This puts us under a difficulty, however, with regard to many of his actions, to find what were his real motives and views: But if we may judge from a ſeries of the moſt probable circumſtances, we have no reaſon to think that he had at firſt, or even for a long time after he arrived at great power, any ſettled deſign againſt the king's life. It was owing to him, indeed, that the King was ſeized at *Holmby-houſe*, contrary to the ſenſe, and without the

the knowledgde of the parliament; but this was done with no other view than to get his majeſty into the hands of the army, who were jealous of the parliament, as the parliament were of them.

For when the royal power was quite broken, and the royal perſon made a priſoner, miſunderſtandings began to ariſe among the victors, from the ſoldiers arrogating more to themſelves than their maſters were willing to allow. On this account it was imagined, that they who could ſecure the king's perſon, might play him off againſt the other party, and reſtore him upon their own terms, without any proviſion for the others. It was even ſuſpected at this time, that the parliament had actually a deſign of reſtoring the king's authority, in order to make uſe of it to ruin their own army. But the chief officers were more tenacious of the power they had acquired, and in particular *Cromwell*, who was a member of parliament as well as general, than thus to reſign it without any ſecurity to themſelves. It was thought neceſſary, therefore, in order to leſſen the parliament's authority, to encreaſe their own, to take this otherwiſe unwarrantable ſtep; of which *Cromwell* was the chief adviſer, as appears from the teſtimony of *Joyce*, who acted in the affair.

Cromwell's grand deſign, we are aſſured, was to hinder any conjunction between the king and the presbyterians, the army's greateſt enemies; and having now got him into his hands, he ſpirited up an addreſs from the army, containing a charge of high-treaſon againſt eleven members of the houſe of commons, who were the heads of the preſbyterian party. This had the deſired effect; for knowing this charge was rather to hinder their influencing the houſe, than with a view of proceeding capitally againſt them, they determined to withdraw themſelves voluntarily, and leave the ſway of the houſe in the hands of the oppoſite party, who, tho' called independents, were made up of men of different perſuaſions, that were in general friends to the army.

There

There was alſo a moderate party in the houſe, who uſually voted on the ſide of liberty, till they found what lengths they were like to be led.

Having proceeded thus far, *Cromwell*'s next intentions were to reſtore the king by means of the independents, now the predominant party, thinking that liberty of conſcience would thereby be better ſecured, than it could be under a preſbyterian hierarchy: Thus the king himſelf began to think his condition altered for the better, and to look upon the independent intereſt as more conſiſtent with epiſcopacy than the preſbyterian, becauſe it might ſubſiſt under any form, which the other could not do. He was alſo much more civilly treated ſince his being in the army, than he was before while the parliament's priſoner; for tho' he was obliged to attend the motion of the camp, he was every where allowed to appear in ſtate and luſtre, with his nobility about him, his chaplains in waiting, and all his ſervants in their proper places. His majeſty received alſo an addreſs from the army, full of proteſtations of duty; which was ſet on foot by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; tho' to prevent the parliament's jealouſy of them, they were at firſt ſomewhat reſerved in their own behaviour, and even deſired to be excuſed from ſeeing his majeſty often, and waved the ceremony of kiſſing his hand when before him, notwithſtanding all the addreſs which his majeſty made uſe of, as to perſons he knew could do him ſervice.

After ſome time, however, *Cromwell*'s behaviour was more open and free; he viſited the king frequently, and had long conferences with him. Once in particular he is ſaid to have promiſed his majeſty, "That if he and his party would ſit ſtill, and neither act nor declare againſt the army, he would reſtore him, and make him the greateſt prince in chriſtendom; but in private, among his friends, he boaſted, "that now he had got the king in his hands, he had got the parliament in his pocket." His majeſty knew that *Cromwell* bore the greateſt

ſway

ſway in the army, and finding him not averſe to his intereſt, was ſo indiſcreet as to ſay to general *Fairfax*, upon his offering him his ſervice, "Sir, I have as good intereſt in the army as you." Which expreſſion was taken very ill by the general, and did the king no ſervice.

But notwithſtanding the king's indiſcretion, *Cromwell* was certainly in earneſt as to his deſign of a reſtoration, tho' he durſt not openly avow it. This was evident from his meſſage to ſir *John Berkeley*, who was ſent over by the queen and the prince to promote an agreement between the king and the army. Sir *Allen Appeſley*, the meſſenger, was ordered to inform ſir *John*, That "*Cromwell* well remembered what he had once heard him ſay, concerning the difficulty of introducing a popular government, againſt the king, the nobility and gentry, the preſbyterians, and the genius of the nation; and that therefore it would be well for the independents to do what the preſbyterians had only pretended to, and reſtore the king and people to their juſt and antient rights; this being the only way to obtain truſt and power for themſelves, as much as ſubjects are capable of; whereas, if they aimed at more, it would be attended with a great hatred, and their own deſtruction: That tho' *Cromwell*, when ſir *John* held this diſcourſe, only gave him the hearing, yet he had ſince found by experience, that all, or the greateſt part of it was reaſonable, as might be perceived by what had paſs'd; deſiring that the queen and the prince would not condemn his party, but ſuſpend their opinion of them, and their intentions, till their future carriage ſhould make full proof of their integrity, of which they had already given ſome teſtimony."

And when, after leave obtained from *Cromwell*, ſir *John* came to wait on the king, *Cromwell* confirmed with his own mouth all that ſir *Allen* had reported; with this addition, "That he thought no man could enjoy his life and eſtate quietly, unleſs the

king had his right; which, ſays he, we have already declared to the world in general terms, and will more particularly very ſoon, when we ſhall compromize the ſeveral intereſts of the royaliſts, preſbyterians, and independents, as far as they are conſiſtent with one another." And ſome time after ſir *John* meeting him at *Reading*, as he was coming from the king at *Caverſham*, *Cromwell* told him, "that he had lately ſeen the tendereſt ſight that ever his eyes beheld, which was the interview between the king and his children." He even wept while he mentioned it, and added, "that never was man ſo abuſed as himſelf in the ſiniſter opinion he had of the king, whom he now thought the moſt upright and conſcientious man in the three kingdoms:" Concluding with this wiſh, "that God would be pleaſed to look upon him, according to the ſincerity of his heart towards the king."

Indeed the army in general, as well as *Cromwell*, appeared at this time very zealous for the king's intereſt; and yet they ſeemed to ſuſpect the reality of one another's intentions. Some of the principal agitators whiſpered their ſuſpicions of the lieutenant-general to *Berkley*, but they appeared to be ſuſpicions only; every one confeſſing, that if *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were not hearty for the king, they were great diſſemblers. And what room could there be to imagine this, when propoſals were actually drawn up by *Ireton* for a reconciliation, by which epiſcopacy was not to be aboliſhed, nor the militia taken from the crown? when they both preſſed the king to conſent to them without delay, there being no aſſurance of the army, who had changed more than once? *Cromwell*, in particular, was ſo earneſt in the affair, that he blamed *Ireton*'s ſlowneſs in perfecting the propoſals, and his backwardneſs in coming up to his majeſty's ſenſe; telling ſir *John Berkeley* on the other hand, "that he wiſhed he would act more frankly, and not tie himſelf up to narrow principles; becauſe there was great room to think, that

that the army would not perſiſt in their good intentions towards the king."

About the ſame time arrived mr. *Aſhburnham*, upon the like meſſage as ſir *John Berkeley*. This gentleman ſoon got familiar with colonel *Whalley*, who commanded the guard that attended the king; and alſo with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, who ſeemed greatly to come into his meaſures, ſo as even to raiſe a jealouſy in the army of their carrying on a ſeparate treaty. But all theſe promiſing circumſtances were ſoon defeated, merely by the imprudence of his majeſty, and thoſe about him, as we ſhall ſee by what follows:

The parliament feared nothing ſo much, as a conjunction between the king and the army; and now there was ſuch an appearance of it, many of the king's friends, thro' an intemperate zeal, made it the ſubject of their triumph. Hereupon the two houſes ſent a committee to his majeſty, with an addreſs of another ſtrain than they had lately uſed, making many proteſtations of duty, and declaring, "That if he was not in all reſpects treated as he ought to be, and as he deſired, it was not their fault, who were deſirous he might be at full liberty, and do what he would." The army, at the ſame time, was not without jealouſy, that the king hearkened to ſome ſecret propoſitions from the preſbyterian party, and deſigned to make an abſolute breach between the parliament and the army, which occaſioned *Ireton* to ſay to him, "Sir, you have an intention to be arbitrator betwsen the parliament and us, and we mean to be ſo between you and the parliament." In the mean time, the king finding himſelf courted on all hands, was ſo confident of his own importance, that he imagined himſelf able to turn the ſcale on which ſide he pleaſed.

This high conſideration of himſelf, which was one of king *Charles*'s greateſt foibles, was the occaſion, that when the propoſals were brought him from the army, and his concurrence to them humbly

bly desired, he entertained their commissioners with haughty and disobliging language; declaring, "that no man should suffer for his sake (there being justice required on some of his evil advisers) and that he repented of nothing so much, as that he passed the bill against the earl of *Strafford*; also, that he would have the church of *England* established by the proposals;" there being nothing in them concerning church-government. These proposals however, were much more moderate than those sent to him from the parliament; but he unhappily thought, that they proceeded only from the necessity they had of him; and in discoursing with the commissioners, would frequently use such expressions as these, "You cannot do without me; you will fall to ruin, unless I sustain you." This kind of proceeding greatly astonished his own party, as well as the deputies from the army; whereupon he began to soften his discourse, but it was too late; for colonel *Rainsborough*, who seemed least of all to desire an accommodation, had retired from the conference, and going immediately to the army, had given them to understand what treatment their commissioners and proposals had met with.

It may not be amiss, on this occasion, to introduce part of dr. *Wellwood*'s character of this unhappy prince, in which he seems to have had some view to the present affair. After telling us, "that if king *Charles* had any personal faults, they were much over-weighed by his virtues; but that an immoderate desire of power, beyond what our constitution allowed of, was the rock he split upon;" the doctor adds, "there was another error that run thro' the whole management of his affairs, both domestic and publick, and which occasioned a great part of his misfortunes; he appeared many times stiff and positive in denying at first what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give satisfaction; which encouraged interested persons to ask more than they thought of at first, and lost him the fruits of his former

former conceſſions; ſo that in the whole conduct of his life he verified this maxim, That errors in government have ruined more princes than their perſonal vices."

To proceed with our hiſtory: There happened about the time we are now upon, an inſurrection in the city of *London*, occaſioned by the parliament's voting the city militia, thro' *Cromwell*'s influence, into other hands than their own. The mob that was got down to *Weſtminſter*, on this occaſion, not only obliged both houſes to revoke their ordinance, but forced them to paſs a vote, "that the king ſhould come forthwith to *London*, and be invited thither with honour, freedom, and ſafety." This violence put upon them, occaſioned ſeveral of the members, and in particular the ſpeakers of both houſes, to repair with ſpeed to the army, and offer up their complaints. The army could not have deſired a greater advantage than this gave them, who therefore received the members with all the appearances of reſpect, profeſſed their ſubmiſſion to the parliament, and declared, "that they would reeſtabliſh them in their full power, or periſh in the attempt." Nor did they fail of their promiſe; for tho' the houſes had choſen new ſpeakers, and paſſed ſeveral votes according to the mind of the citizens, yet all thoſe proceedings were diſannull'd upon the army's coming to *London*; the members were reſtored, and every thing ſettled again as the officers, or rather as *Cromwell*, who governed all the reſt, would have it.

But the city being ſubdued, and the parliament and army ſeemingly united, there aroſe differences in the army itſelf. The agitators, whoſe riſe we ſhall mention elſewhere, were no longer inclined to an agreement with the king, and declared their diſcontent at the intimacy kept up by *Cromwell* and *Ireton* with his majeſty's agents. The doors of theſe commanders, they ſaid, were open to the royaliſts, and ſhut to their own ſoldiers. *Cromwell* was very uneaſy

eaſy at theſe diſcourſes, and informed the king's party of them, ſpeaking thus to *Aſhburnham* and *Berkeley*: "If I am an honeſt man, I have ſaid enough of the ſincerity of my intentions; and if I am not, nothing is enough; therefore I conjure you, as you tender the king's ſervice, not to come ſo frequently to my quarters, but to ſend your buſineſs in private; the ſuſpicion of me being grown ſo great, that I am afraid to be in them myſelf." Thus the agitators, who were ſet up at firſt by *Cromwell*, to oppoſe the parliament's deſign of diſbanding, began now to be very troubleſome to him, and at laſt obliged him to abandon the king's intereſt, in order to make his peace with them.

The parliament having again addreſſed themſelves to the king, *Cromwell* found means to prevent his treating with them, and had it inſinuated, "that if the king would aſſent to their propoſals, lower than thoſe of the parliament, the army would ſettle him again on his throne." His majeſty, upon this, inſtead of liſtening to the parliament, deſired a perſonal treaty on the propoſals of the army. Upon this the officers were extremely well pleaſed; and *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, with others of their party, preſſed his majeſty's deſires in the houſe with great earneſtneſs: But ſo far were they from ſucceeding, that they met with a vigorous oppoſition, and loſt moſt of their friends in the parliament, where they were now looked upon as betrayers of the cauſe. Likewiſe the army, which then lay about *Putney*, were no leſs diſſatisfy'd with their proceedings; ſo that the agitators complained openly in council, both of the king and the malignants, declaring, "that ſince the king had rejected their propoſals, they were no farther engaged to him, but were ſpeedily to conſult their own ſafety, and the publick good; and having the power devolved upon them by the deciſion of the ſword, and being convinced that monarchy was inconſiſtent with the good of the nation, they reſolved to uſe their endeavours to reduce *England* to a common-

mon-wealth." They alſo deſigned to have ſeized *Aſhburnham* and *Berkeley*, the king's agents, and to wreſt the king out of the hands of the two traitors, as they call'd *Cromwell* and *Ireton*.

Theſe proceedings ſo terrify'd *Cromwell*, that he thought it neceſſary to bring the army to a general rendezvous, knowing that moſt of the great officers were ſtill well affected to the king, and diſliked theſe proceedings of the agitators, whoſe power he hoped, by that means to ſuppreſs. The agitators, in the mean time, endeavoured to prevent the rendezvous, and to get the king into their own hands; however *Cromwell* was too hard for them all; and finding how matters were like to go, he acquainted the king with his danger, and aſſuring him of his real ſervice, adviſed him to eſcape where he might be more ſecure. His majeſty took the general's counſel, and leaving *Hampton-court*, where he then reſided, made away for the *Iſle of Wight*, accompanied by *Berkeley*, *Aſhburnham*, and ſome others: They were kindly received by colonel *Hammond*, their governor, who met the king at *Titchfield*, and conducted him forwards in his own perſon. *Cromwell* ſoon received letters of the king's arrival, which he communicated to the parliament, and thereby removed the conſternation they were before in, on account of his eſcape. And lord *Clarendon* remarks, that he made the relation of this matter with ſo unuſual a gaiety, that all men concluded, his majeſty was where *Cromwell* deſired he ſhould be.

The agitators now declared openly againſt the king, and againſt the continuance of the preſent parliament, requiring that a new one might be elected, by a more equal diſtribution of the counties, cities, and boroughs. A great part of the army came over to them, who were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Levellers*; and at the general rendezvous, they that were of this party wore a paper in his hat, and theſe words written upon it, *The Rights of* England, *and the Conſent of the People*. And tho' *Cromwell*, by his

his ſingular addreſs and extraordinary courage, did for the preſent quell this ſpirit in the army; yet ſo apprehenſive was he of the ſecret remains of it, and the conſequences that might hence enſue, and ſo weary was he of treating with the king to no purpoſe, that he ſoon altered his reſolution to both parties, and reconciled himſelf, to the one, by deſpiſing the other.

To vindicate *Cromwell*, as much as poſſible, in the affair of leaving the king, I ſhall inſert the ſubſtance of what is collected on this head, by the anonymous author of *Cromwell*'s life. He tells us from *Ludlow*, that colonel *Hammond* and mr. *Aſhburnham* had frequent conferences with the king, who made ſuch promiſes to *Hammond*, that he expreſs'd his earneſt deſire that the army might reſume their power, and rid themſelves of the agitators, whoſe authority, he ſaid, he never liked. To this end he ſent one mr. *Traughton*, his chaplain, to the army, to adviſe them to make uſe of their late ſucceſs againſt the agitators; and ſoon after he preſs'd the king to ſend ſome of thoſe that attended on him, to the army, with letters of compliment to *Fairfax*, and others of greater confidence to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. He alſo wrote to them himſelf, "conjuring them by their engagements, their honour and conſcience, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with the king, and not to expoſe themſelves to the fantaſtick giddineſs of the agitators." Sir *John Berkeley* was appointed by the king, in purſuance of *Hammond*'s advice, to go to the army, and taking with him mr. *Henry Berkeley*, his couſin, went over with a paſs from the governor of *Cowes*. Being on his way towards the army, he met mr. *Traughton* on his return between *Bagſhot* and *Windſor*, who inform'd him, that he had no good news to carry back to his majeſty, the army having enter'd into new reſolutions concerning his perſon. He was not gone much further, before he was met by cornet *Joyce*, who told him, "That he was aſtoniſhed at his deſign of going to the army, for

for it had been debated amongſt the agitators, whether, in juſtification of themſelves, the king ſhould be brought to a trial;" of which opinion he declared himſelf to be. Sir *John* however reſolved to go to the army, and being arrived at *Windſor*, went to general *Fairfax*'s quarters, where the officers were aſſembled. Being admitted, he delivered his letters to the general, and receiving them, ordered him to withdraw. Having waited about half an hour, he was called in, when the general, with ſome ſeverity in his looks, told him, that they were the parliament's army, and therefore could ſay nothing to the king's motion about peace, but muſt refer thoſe matters, and the king's letters, to their conſideration. Sir *John* then looked upon *Cromwell*, *Ireton*, and the reſt of his acquaintance; but they ſaluted him very coldly, and ſhewing him colonel *Hammond*'s letter to them, ſmiled with diſdain upon it.

Thus finding himſelf diſappointed, *Berkley* went to his lodgings; and having ſtaid two hours without any company, at laſt he ordered his ſervant to go out, and ſee if he could find any of his acquaintance. The ſervant going out, met with one who was a general officer, who bid him tell his maſter, that he would meet him at ſuch a place at midnight: They being accordingly met, the officer acquainted *Berkley* in general, that he had no good news to tell him, and then proceeded to particulars, ſaid, "You know that I and my friends engaged ourſelves to you; that we were zealous for an agreement, and if the reſt were not ſo, we were abuſed; that ſince the tumults in the army, we did miſtruſt *Cromwell* and *Ireton*; whereof I informed you. I come now to tell you, that we miſtruſt neither, and that we are reſolved, notwithſtanding our engagement, to deſtroy the king and his poſterity; to which purpoſe *Ireton* has made two propoſitions this afternoon; one, that you ſhould be ſent priſoner to *London*; the other, that none ſhould ſpeak with you upon pain of death; and I do now hazard my life by doing

ing it. The way deſigned to ruin his majeſty, is to ſend eight hundred of the moſt diſaffected in the army to ſecure his perſon, and then to bring him to a trial; and I dare think no farther. This will be done in ten days; therefore, if the king can eſcape let him do it as he loves his life."

Sir *John* being exceedingly troubled at this relation, aſked his friend the reaſon of this change, ſeeing the king had done all things in compliance with the army, and the officers were become ſuperior ſince the laſt rendezvous; whereupon he gave him this account: "That tho' one of the mutineers was ſhot to death, eleven more impriſoned, and the reſt in appearance over-awed; yet they were ſo far from being ſo in reality, that two thirds of the army had been ſince with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to let them know, that tho' they were ſure to periſh in the attempt, they ſhould leave nothing undone to bring the whole army to their notions; and if all failed, they would make a diviſion in the army, and unite with any who would aſſiſt them in the deſtruction of their oppoſers." That *Cromwell* and *Ireton* reaſoned thus with themſelves, "If the army divide, the greateſt part will join with the preſbyterians, and will probably prevail to our ruin; or we ſhall be obliged in ſuch a manner to apply ourſelves to the king, as rather to beg than offer any aſſiſtance, which if the king ſhall give, and be ſo fortunate as to prevail; if he ſhall then pardon us, it will be all we can expect, and more than we can aſſure our ſelves of;" and thereupon concluded, that if they could not bring the army to their ſenſe, it was beſt to comply with them, a diviſion being utterly deſtructive to both.

In purſuance therefore of this reſolution, *Cromwell* employed all thoughts to make his peace with the party that was moſt againſt the king. He alſo ſent comfortable meſſages to the priſoners he had ſeized at the late rendezvous, aſſuring them, that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice; and by theſe

theſe and the like arts, he perfected his reconciliation with the levelling party.

Sir *John Berkley* returning to his lodging, diſpatched his couſin to the *Iſle of Wight* with two letters; one to colonel *Hammond*, giving a general account, and doubtful judgment of affairs in the army; another in cypher, with a particular relation of the conference he had with the above-mentioned officer, and a ſupplication to his majeſty, to think of nothing but his immediate eſcape. The next morning he ſent colonel *Cook* to *Cromwell*, to acquaint him that he had letters and inſtructions to him from the king; but *Cromwell* returned an anſwer by the meſſenger, "That he dare not ſee him, it being very dangerous to them both;" aſſuring him, "that he would ſerve the king as long as he could do it with ſafety to himſelf; and deſired that it might not be expected that he ſhould periſh for his ſake."

Now having ſeen the motives that prevailed on this famous general to forſake the king's intereſt. And much the ſame account is given by *Salmonet*, who is not at all ſuſpected of being partial to *Cromwell*; ſo that if he hitherto acted ſincerely in his deſign to ſerve the king, as is moſt probable, they who charge him with having contrived his ruin from the beginning of the civil wars, aſcribe to him more ambitious views than he really had; indeed he was ambitious enough, and as good as any man at the art of diſſimulation; but certainly nothing hinders, but a great diſſembler may ſometimes be in earneſt; and his ambition might be gratify'd by the private treaty that was ſuppoſed to be carried on between him and the king, by ſtipulating ſuch honours and advancements for himſelf and family, as reſtoring the king to his throne might reaſonably lay claim to.

And here we cannot omit another account that is given by ſome, of *Cromwell*'s falling off from the the king, and deſerting his intereſt: They tell us, that there was a report, that *Cromwell* made a private article with the king, that if his majeſty cloſed

with

with the army's propoſals, he ſhould be made earl of *Eſſex*, knight of the garter, and firſt captain of the horſe-guards; and *Ireton* was to be made lieutenant of *Ireland*. Other honours and employments were alſo cut out for *Cromwell*'s family and friends: But the king was ſo uxorious, that he would do nothing without the advice of his queen, who not liking the propoſal, he ſent a letter to acquaint her, "That tho' he conſented to the army's propoſals, yet if by ſo doing he could procure peace, it would be eaſier then to take off *Cromwell*, than now he was the head that governed the army." *Cromwell*, who had his ſpies upon every motion of the king, intercepted this letter, and thereupon reſolved never to truſt the king more. This is ſaid to have happened before the king left *Hampton-court*; for upon this, they tell us, *Cromwell* fearing he could not manage his deſigns if the king were ſo near the parliament at *Hampton-court*, gave him private information, that he was in no ſafety there, by reaſon of the hatred which the agitators bore him, and that he would be more ſecure in the *Iſle of Wight*. Hereupon the king, whilſt the parliament and the *Scotch* commiſſioners were debating on his anſwer to their propoſitions, made his eſcape as before related.

We leave the reader to judge of this ſtory as he thinks fit. Thus much we may obſerve, that father *Orleans* ſays, 'twas believed in *France*, that the king had deceived *Cromwell*, tho' he makes this to be the effect of *Cromwell*'s artifice. And lord *Clarendon* ſpeaks of *Cromwell*'s complaining that the king could not be truſted, tho' he makes his whole carriage towards his majeſty to be nothing but hypocriſy and diſſimulation, in order to bring about his own deſigns. "*Aſhburnham* and *Berkley*, ſays he, received ſeveral accounts (but a little while before the king's eſcape) from ſome officers with whom he moſt converſed, and who would have been glad that the king ſhould be reſtored by the army, for the preferments which they expected might fall to their ſhare, that

Cromwell

Cromwell and *Ireton* reſolved never to truſt the king, or do any thing towards his reſtoration." And a little after he ſays, "That *Cromwell* himſelf expoſtulated with mr. *Aſhburnham*, and complained, that the king could not be truſted, and that he had no affection or confidence in the army, but was jealous of them, and of all the officers; that he had intrigues in the parliament, and treaties with the preſbyterians of the city, to raiſe new troubles; that he had a treaty concluded with the *Scotch* commiſſioners, to engage the nation again in blood; and therefore he would not be anſwerable, if any thing fell out amiſs, and contrary to expectation."

Agreeable enough to this account is the relation given by the author of the memoirs of lord *Broghill*, of a converſation that paſſed between the ſaid lord and *Cromwell*, whilſt he was in *Ireland*, in 1650. He informs us, that the lord *Broghill* being in diſcourſe with *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, fell upon the ſubject of the king's death. *Cromwell* ſaid, that if the king had followed his own mind, and had had truſty ſervants about him, he had fooled them all; adding, "we had once an inclination to have come to terms with him, but ſomething that happened drew us off from it." The lord *Broghill* ſeeing they were both in a good humour, aſked them, why, if they were inclined to cloſe with him, they had not done it? Upon which *Cromwell* frankly told him, "The reaſon of our inclination to come to terms with him, was, we found the *Scots* and preſbyterians began to be more powerful than we, and were ſtrenuouſly endeavouring to ſtrike up an agreement with the king, and leave us in the lurch; therefore we thought to prevent them by offering more reaſonable terms: But while we were buſied with theſe thoughts, there came a letter to us from one of our ſpies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, acquainting us, that our final doom was decreed that day; what it was he could not tell, but a letter was gone

to

to the queen with the contents of it, which letter was ſewed up in the ſkirt of a ſaddle, and the bearer of it would come with the ſaddle upon his head about ten o'clock the following night, to the *Blue Boar* inn in *Holborn*, where he was to take horſe for *Dover*. The meſſenger knew nothing of the letter in the ſaddle, but ſome in *Dover* did. We were then at *Windſor*; and immediately upon the receipt of the letter from our ſpy, *Ireton* and I reſolved to take a truſty fellow with us, and in troopers habits to go to the inn; which accordingly we did, and ſet our men at the gate of the inn to watch. The gate was ſhut, but the wicket was open, and our men ſtaid to give us notice when any one came with a ſaddle upon his head. *Ireton* and I ſat in a box near the wicket, and called for a can of beer, and then another, drinking in that diſguiſe till ten o'clock, when our centinel gave us notice that the man with the ſaddle was come; upon which we immediately roſe; and when the man was leading his horſe out, ſaddled, we came up to him with our ſwords drawn, and told him, we were to ſearch all who went in or out there; but as he looked like an honeſt fellow, we ſhould only ſearch his ſaddle; which we did, and found the letter we looked for, and opening it, read the contents; in which the king acquainted the queen, that he was now courted by both the factions, the *Scots* preſbyterians, and the army; that which of them bid faireſt for him ſhould have him; that he thought he could cloſe ſooner with the *Scots* than the other. Upon which we ſpeeded to *Windſor*, and finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately agreed to ruin him."

For a concluſion, I ſhall ſet down what dr. *Welwood* in his memoirs obſerves, concerning this matter. "As every thing, ſays he, did contribute to the fall of king *Charles* I. ſo did every thing contribute to the riſe of *Cromwell*, and as there was no deſign at firſt againſt the king's life, ſo it is probable that

that *Cromwell* had no thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is certain he was in treaty with the king, after the army had carried his majeſty away from *Holmby houſe*, to have reſtored him to the throne; which probably he would have done, if the ſecret had not been like to take vent, by the indiſcretion of ſome about the king, that puſhed *Cromwell* on to prevent his own, by the ruin of the king."

However it was (for theſe things muſt ſtill remain under ſome confuſion) it is certain, that a few days after the king's departure from *Hampton-court*, and after it was known he was in the *Iſle of Wight*, there was a meeting of the general officers of the army at *Windſor*, where *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were preſent, to conſider what ſhould be done with the king; and it was agreed, that he ſhould be proſecuted for his life as a criminal perſon. This agreement was kept a great ſecret, whereof the parliament had not the leaſt notice or ſuſpicion; but was, as it had been, to be led on by degrees to what it never deſign'd.

It is very well known, that after this time, *Cromwell* was no more a friend to the king; for when his majeſty refuſed to ſign the four famous bills that were ſent him by the parliament, as preliminary to a treaty, there was nobody in the houſe that turned this refuſal more to his diſadvantage than *Cromwell*, who declared, "That the king was a man of great underſtanding; but withal, ſo great a diſſembler, and ſo falſe a man, that he was not to be truſted." And to confirm what he ſaid, he repeated ſome particulars of the king's behaviour whilſt he was in the army; concluding, "that they might trouble themſelves no farther with ſending propoſitions to the king, but enter into thoſe counſels that were neceſſary towards the ſettlement of the kingdom." And the motion being ſeconded by thoſe of his party, produced that memorable vote, "That no more addreſſes or applications ſhould be made to the king, nor any meſſage received from him, under the penalty

nalty of high-treaſon." And ſome authors go ſo far as to aſſert, that *Cromwell* and *Ireton* were ſo inſolent in this debate, as to threaten not only the king, but even the parliament, if they gave the army any farther grounds of jealouſy; and that *Cromwell*, at the end of his ſpeech, clapped his hand upon his ſword.

But the ſecond civil war breaking out ſoon after, *Cromwell* and the army were obliged to remove from *London*, and the preſbyterians began again to prevail in the houſe. The vote of no addreſſes was repealed, and a perſonal treaty was reſolved on with the king. *Cromwell* wrote to his friends about theſe proceedings, but to no purpoſe, which made him uſe all expedition to finiſh his buſineſs in the north, that he might return to the parliament, and reſtrain the preſbyterian party: But while the treaty was on foot, the main army under *Fairfax* preſented a remonſtrance to the parliament, adviſing them to reſume the affair of no addreſſes, and to fix a time for their own diſſolution, that a new repreſentative might be choſen. This put the houſe into great diſorder, eſpecially as the king, about the ſame time was removed from colonel *Hammond*, and committed to colonel *Ewer* at *Hurſt-caſtle*: They voted that this action was done without their aſſent, and ſhould be enquired into; and ſome reſolute members moved, "That the army, which was now at *Windſor*, might be declared traitors, if they preſumed to march nearer *London* than they were at preſent, and that an impeachment of high-treaſon might be drawn up againſt the principal officers of it." Upon this the general marched directly to *London*, and he quartered at *Whitehall*, placing the other chief men in the great houſes thereabouts, in order to terrify the parliament.

The commons, notwithſtanding this, carried it by a majority upon the queſtion, "That his majeſty's conceſſions were a ſufficient ground to proceed upon, for the ſettlement of the peace of the kingdom;"

dom;" and appointed a committee to treat with the general. *Fairfax*, inſtead of holding a conference, ordered ſome regiments down to *Weſtminſter*, who ſet guards upon all the avenues to the parliament-houſe, ſeized forty-one of the members as they were entering, and denied entrance to a hundred more; whereupon the reſt of the preſbyterians declining to come, the houſe was leſt in poſſeſſion of about an hundred and fifty. And the night after this interruption, *Cromwell* arrived in town, and the next day took his place in parliament.

It is generally believed that *Cromwell*, tho' abſent, influenced the late proceedings, and that it was by his advice and direction that the remonſtrance of the army was drawn up, and preſented to the houſe. 'Tis certain that both he and *Ireton* could manage the general in whatever they pleaſed. However, *Cromwell* upon his arrival declared, "That he had not been acquainted with the deſign of purging the houſe; but that ſince it was done, he was very glad of it, and would maintain it."

The remnant of the houſe immediately renewed their votes of non-addreſſes, and annull'd all thoſe that introduced and ſucceeded the treaty; and particularly reſolved, that the king's anſwer to their propoſitions was not ſatisfactory. Soon after, a motion was made to proceed capitally againſt the king; when *Cromwell* ſtood up and declared, "That if any man moved this with deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt traitor in the world; but ſince providence and neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he would pray to God to bleſs their counſels, tho' he was not prepared to give them advice."

I ſhall paſs over all the affair of the king's trial, as a matter commonly known; but muſt not omit what biſhop *Burnet* relates, that commiſſioners were ſent from *Scotland*, to proteſt againſt putting the king to death: They laid, indeed, a great load upon the king; but by a clauſe in the covenant, to which they had ſworn, by the terms upon which *Scotland*

had engaged in the war, and by the ſolemn declarations that they had ſo often publiſhed to the world, they were obliged, they ſaid, to be faithful in the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon. *Cromwell* undertook to anſwer them, by ſhewing, "That a breach of truſt in a king ought to be puniſhed more than any other crime whatever: That they had ſworn to the preſervation of the king's perſon, only in defence of the true religion; but that when the true religion was obſtructed by the king, their oath was no farther obligatory: That the covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cauſe, to condign puniſhment; and that thoſe to whom public juſtice had been done, as in the matter of *Montroſe*, were in compariſon but ſmall offenders; they acted by commiſſion from the king, who was therefore the principal, and ſo the moſt guilty." Thus *Cromwell* had manifeſtly the better of them upon their own principles.

Another attempt, in favour of the king, was made upon the lieutenant-general by his own kinſman, colonel *John Cromwell*, who came to town with credential letters from the ſtates of *Holland*, whereto was added a blank, with ſignets both of the king and the prince, for *Cromwell* to ſet down his own conditions, if he would now ſave his life. The colonel uſed a great deal of freedom, and even reproached him warmly for turning the king's enemy, after having proteſted ſo much in his favour. The general made anſwer, "That it was not he, but the army, and that times were altered ſince he had engaged for the king." At laſt, when he could no longer bear his couſin's importunity, he deſired he might have till night to conſider of it, and that the colonel would wait at his inn till then: But about one in the morning, a meſſenger came to inform the colonel that he might go to bed; for the council of officers had reſolved that the king muſt die.

This reſolution was accordingly executed; and king *Charles*, as Biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, "died greater

greater than he lived, ſhewing what has often been remarked of the family of the *Stuarts*, that they bore misfortunes better than proſperity. He was a prince of great devotion and piety, remarkable for his temperance and chaſtity, being an utter enemy to all debauchery: But his reign, both in peace and war, was a continual ſeries of errors; ſo that his judgment could hardly be good. He was beyond meaſure ſet upon following his own humour, but was unreaſonably weak to thoſe he truſted, eſpecially the queen. His notion of regal power was carried too high, and every oppoſition to it he thought was rebellion."

Thus, ſays the anonymous author, before quoted, have we got over this dark ſcene, in which our lieutenant-general is ſuppoſed to be chiefly concerned: But as it is not ſtrange he ſhould, if the ſtory of the king's dealing deceitfully with him be true; ſo it is more reaſonable to conclude, that his ſon-in-law *Ireton*, rather than he, was the perſon who acted moſt in theſe proceedings. I know *Ireton* is ſuppoſed all along to have acted by *Cromwell*'s directions; but whether he did or no, may, I think, in many caſes be queſtioned. *Ireton* was certainly a zealous commonwealth's-man, which party was always averſe to any treaty with the king; and tho' he with *Cromwell* was in ſuch a treaty, he never intended to cloſe with the king; but only to lay his party aſleep, whilſt they were conteſting with the preſbyterian intereſt in parliament; but he ſays no ſuch thing of *Cromwell*, whom he ſeems all along to be angry with, for his deſign of making an agreement with the king, being himſelf utterly averſe to it, and ſuppoſing *Cromwell*'s main end was to gratify his own ambition, which is not unlikely; and yet he might have been in earneſt in the treaty, and alſo have deſigned the publick good. *Cromwell* was in fact no commonwealth's-man, tho' he was forced to humour, and in many things actually to comply with the party; and as the agitators, and their off-

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ſpring the levellers, who were no other than the commonwealth's-men in the army, and whom it is likely *Cromwell* at firſt might make uſe of to bring about ſome of his deſigns, were the original contrivers and chief actors in the king's death; ſo whatever hand *Cromwell* had in it, ſeems to be chiefly owing to their fury and deſperate reſolutions, which made him apprehenſive of the greateſt danger, if he did not comply with their deſigns; tho' at the ſame time, the contradictions that appeared in the king's conduct, might the more eaſily incline him to join purpoſes with them.

In ſhort, what with the danger that threaten'd his perſon, if he had perſiſted to oppoſe the deſign of the levellers; and that with the conſideration of the king's paſt miſ-management, which had been the original cauſe of all the evils the nation had ſuffered, and the fear of the like happening for the future, if he ſhould be reſtored, he having diſcovered himſelf to be of a very inconſtant and wavering. not to ſay equivocating, temper; *Cromwell* was at length ſo wrought upon, as to think it neceſſary, and ſo lawful, to take off the king; in which towards the laſt he ſeemed to be pretty active, tho' always in ſome doubt about it. We are expreſly told, he at firſt ſhewed ſome repugnance to ſo black an undertaking, as my author calls it, and ſeemed to ſhew an abhorrence of it, and not to ſurmount it, as he ſaid himſelf, but only becauſe he ſaw that the providence of God, and the neceſſity of the times, had inſpired the army to make ſo terrible a ſacrifice; but that that ſacrifice, after all, was the only one that could ſave the ſtate and religion. And I cannot here omit what biſhop *Burnet* ſays of this affair: He tells us, that *Ireton* was the perſon that drove on the king's trial and death, and that *Cromwell* was all the while in ſome ſuſpence about it. "*Ireton*, ſays he, had the principles and temper of a *Caſſius* in him; he ſtuck at nothing that might have turned *England* to a commonwealth; and he found out *Cook* and *Brad-*

Bradſhaw, two bold lawyers, as proper inſtruments for managing it." And we are informed by others, that *Ireton* was the perſon who wrought upon *Fairfax*, and managing the affair of the army's remonſtrance, and purging the parliament.

To conclude, it is apparent in general, that the king's behaviour, during the whole courſe of his troubles, was enough to deſtroy that confidence that might otherwiſe have been repoſed in him, and to alienate the hearts of thoſe who were inclined to his intereſt. Whatever conceſſions he at any time made, thro' the neceſſity of his affairs, upon the leaſt advantage appearing on his ſide, he was ready to revoke them all. And we find, by the letters to the queen, that were taken at the battle of *Naſeby*, how little regard he had for the parliament, and for the rights of the people, about which they were then contending. In one of them he declares "his intention to make peace with the *Iriſh*, and to have forty thouſand of them over in *England* to proſecute the war here;" and in another he complains, "That he could not prevail with his mongrel at *Oxford*, to vote that the houſes at *Weſtminſter* were not a lawful parliament." So little thanks, as one obſerves, who was no enemy to his majeſty, had thoſe noble lords and gentlemen, for expoſing their lives and fortunes in defence of the king in his adverſity. What then might they expect, if he ſhould prevail by conqueſt? In thoſe letters alſo, he tells the queen, "That he would not make a peace with the rebels without her approbation, nor go one jot from the paper ſhe ſent him; that in the treaty of *Uxbridge*, he did not poſitively own the parliament, it being otherwiſe to be conſtrued, tho' they were ſo ſimple as not to find it out, and that it was recorded in the notes of the king's council, that he did not acknowledge them a parliament.

Concerning the defeat of this treaty at *Uxbridge*, r. *Wellwood* gives us the following account: "Many endeavours

endeavours, ſays he, were uſed from time to time, to bring matters to an accommodation by way of treaty; but ſtill ſome one unlucky accident or other render'd them abortive. At the treaty of *Uxbridge*, tho' the parliament's demands were high, the king ſhewed a more than ordinary averſion to comply with them; yet the ill poſture of the king's affairs at that time, and the fatal conſequences they feared would follow upon breaking off the treaty, obliged a great many of the king's friends, and more particularly that noble perſon the earl of *Southampton*, who had gone poſt from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that purpoſe, to preſs the king again and again upon their knees, to yield to the neceſſity of the times; and by giving his aſſent to ſome of the moſt material propoſitions that were ſent him, to ſettle a laſting peace with his people. The king at laſt was prevailed with to follow their counſel; and the next morning was appointed for ſigning a warrant to his commiſſioners to that effect: And ſo ſure were they of a happy end of all the differences, that the king at ſupper, complaining his wine was not good, one told him merrily, "He hoped that his majeſty would drink better before a week was over at *Guild-hall* with the lord-mayor." But ſo it was, that when they came early the next morning to wait upon him with the warrant that had been agreed upon overnight, they found his majeſty had changed his reſolution, and was become inflexible in theſe points.

The unhappy occaſion of this alteration has lain hitherto a ſecret in hiſtory, and might have continued ſuch ſtill, if a letter from the marquis of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, whereof I have ſeen a copy under the duke of *Richmond*'s hand, did not give a ſufficient light into it. To make affairs better underſtood, it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of *Montroſs* and his actions in *Scotland*.

This nobleman had been at firſt very active and zealous for the liberties of his country, and was the firſt man that paſſed the river *Tweed* at the head of five

five hundred horſe, upon the *Scots* firſt expedition into *England*; but being afterwards diſobliged, or, as ſome ſay, repenting of his former error, he left that ſide, and came in to the king at the breaking out of the war between him and the parliament. When the *Scots* came into *England* the ſecond time to aſſiſt the parliament, *Montroſs* applied himſelf to the king for a commiſſion to levy war againſt his rebel ſubjects, as they were called, of *Scotland*, aſſuring his majeſty, that he was able, with the aſſiſtance of his friends, and concurrence of the reſt of the royal party, to make at leaſt a very conſiderable diverſion, if not to reduce the whole country to his majeſty's obedience. Accordingly the marquis was made governor of *Scotland*, where, in the ſpace of five months, with a handful of raw undiſciplined men, and thoſe not half arm'd, he did over-run a great part of the country, and gain three very conſiderable battles; the laſt of which was that of *Inverlochy*, fought the 2d of *February* 1644, according to the *Engliſh*, and 1645, according to the *Scotch* account. In this battle the earl of *Argyll* was entirely defeated, and the prime of the noble family of the *Campbells* cut off, with inconſiderable loſs on *Montroſs*'s ſide, who next day diſpatched an expreſs to the king with the news of this and his two former victories; and in his letter expreſſed his "utter averſion to all treaties with his rebel parliament in *England*," as he calls them; telling the king, "he is heartily ſorry to hear that his majeſty had conſented to treat, and hopes it is not true; adviſes him not to enter into terms with his rebellious ſubjects, as being a thing unworthy of a king; and aſſures him that he himſelf was now ſo much maſter of *Scotland*, that he doubted not but to be able within a few months to march into *England* to his majeſty's aſſiſtance, with a brave army." And concludes with this odd expreſſion, *When I have conquered from* Dan *to* Beerſheba, *as I doubt not I ſhall very quickly, I hope I may then have leave to ſay*, as *David*'s

David' general ſaid to his maſter, *Come thou, leſt this country be called by my name.*

This letter, writ with ſuch an air of aſſurance, and by a perſon that was thought capable to make good his promiſes, and the matter contained in it ſuiting but too well with the king's inclinations, was unluckily delivered to the king but a few hours before he was to have ſigned the warrant before-mentioned; and had as ill effects as the worſt of king *Charles*'s enemies could have wiſhed; for in a moment it knocked out all the impreſſions that his beſt friends had been making upon him for a conſiderble time, towards a full ſettlement with his people.

It looked, ſays my author, as if there was ſome ſecret fatality in this whole matter; for it could hardly have been imagined, that a letter writ the 3d of *February*, in the fartheſt north corner of *Britain*, ſhould come ſo ſoon to *Oxford*, conſidering the length of the journey, the badneſs of the roads at that time of the year, eſpecially thro' the mountainous part of *Scotland*, together with the parliament's and *Scotch* armies and garriſons that were poſted all along the road; and yet certain it is, it came thro' all theſe dangers and inconveniencies in a few days; for it is indorſed upon the copy I have ſeen, that it was delivered to the king during the treaty of *Uxbridge*, which every body knows began the 30th of *January*, and ended the 22d of *February*. And further, it muſt have been delivered before the 19th of *February*, becauſe king *Charles* takes notice of it in a letter to the queen of that date, found among others at *Naſeby*; where he ſays, "Though I leave news to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given by *Montroſe* to *Argyll*, who upon ſurprize, totally routed the rebels, and killed fifteen hundred upon the place." And it is remarkable, that in the ſame letter to the queen, immediately after mentioning *Montroſe*'s victory, the king adds, "That as for truſting the rebels, either by going to *London*, or diſbanding

banding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly; for I eſteem the intereſt you have in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit (at leaſt by the ſympathy that's betwixt us) than to put myſelf into the reverence of perfidious rebels." Which words being compared with *Montroſs*'s letter, it will be found the one is a commentary upon the other, as we ſhall mention hereafter.

Dr. *Welwood* concludes with this obſervation, "That conſidering the time when this letter of *Montroſs* was writ, this critical minute it was delivered, with the ſad conſequences that attended it; which makes the axiom true, that oftentimes the fate of princes and ſtates is chiefly owing to very minute and unforeſeen accidents." But may we not add from his own relation, that king *Charles*'s fluctuating and vain temper, and eaſily received every flattering impreſſion, and could be truſted only in proportion to the reſtraint it was under, was what in reality ruined his cauſe more than any accident that appeared in this affair?

As there is nothing more eſſential in the character of a prince, or a great miniſter, than the art of governing parties, and reconciling different intereſts, ſo as to make them concur in the advancement of his own deſigns; ſo there is no art more difficult than this to attain, or that requires more extraordinary qualifications in the perſon who attempts to practiſe it. But never was there a greater maſter of this art than *Cromwell*; and no one ever practiſed it ſo ſucceſsfully, with ſo little aſſiſtance, and ſo few advantages. His whole publick life was one continued inſtance of his addreſs and dexterity, either in circumventing and diſtreſſing others, or in evading and breaking thro' the ſnares that were laid for himſelf.

His firſt care, from the beginning, was to ſecure himſelf a party in the houſe of commons, which he effected by his zeal for the publick good, and his vi-

gilance in proſecuting all the meaſures that were entered into by the parliament. Thus it was that the earls of *Eſſex* and *Mancheſter*, tho' the former was general in chief, and the other *Cromwell*'s ſuperior, were not able to prejudice him, after he had eſtabliſhed his reputation by the victory of *Marſton-moor*. When the *Scotch* chancellor accuſed him of being an incendiary, and a publick enemy of his country, with a view to remove him out of *Eſſex*'s way, mr. *Whitlock* informed that miniſter, "That he looked upon *Cromwell* to be a gentleman of quick and ſubtle parts, and had great intereſt in both houſes of parliament, and that it would be neceſſary to collect ſuch particular paſſages concerning him as might be ſufficient to prove him an incendiary, before he could expect the parliament ſhould proceed againſt him." And tho' ſome gentlemen preſent, in particular mr. *Hollis* and ſir *Philip Stapleton* attempted to mention ſuch particular paſſages, and to maintain that *Cromwell* had not ſuch intereſt in the parliament as was pretended, yet the whole proceſs came to nothing, and the lieutenant-general eſcaped.

Thus while he was put to it to ſecure himſelf, who would have thought that he ſhould have accuſed another, nay even that very general to whom he was lieutenant? Yet this was the caſe between him and *Mancheſter*, whom he charged with betraying the parliament, and ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of their cauſe: And tho' the earl ſolemnly affirmed, that *Cromwell* had once ſaid to him, "My lord, if you will ſtick firm to honeſt men, you will find an army at your command, that will give law to king and parliament;" yet *Cromwell* had viſibly the advantage in this conteſt, and ſoon after ſucceeded *Mancheſter* in his poſt, who was laid aſide by his maſters.

It is not to be thought that a man who had raiſed himſelf in the army, could be in earneſt about laying down his commiſſion, when he appeared ſo vigorous about the ſelf-denying ordinance. But *Cromwell*

well was certain of carrying his own point in the houſe, provided he could get his ſuperiors, and thoſe who were jealous of him, removed from the ſervice. He ran little riſque therefore in proffering to lay down his own commiſſion, while he moved that an ordinance might be prepared, "to make it unlawful for any member of either houſe to hold any office in the army, or any place in the ſtate." And when he hinted at the people's jealouſy, that while members of the parliament were in chief command, they found too much intereſt in continuing the war, to ſuffer them to be in earneſt in endeavouring to end it; he gave a thorough blow to my lord *Manchester*, whom he had before accuſed of labouring to protract the preſent confuſion.

Cromwell, indeed, pretended, when the army was new modelled upon this motion, and all the old officers removed, to go among the reſt and take his leave of ſir *Thomas Fairfax* the new general, who was then at *Windſor*; but how much ſoever he might ſeem to be ſurprized, there is no room to queſtion but he knew of the committee's recommendation of him to ſir *Thomas*, as the moſt proper perſon for an enterprize then projected, that of interrupting the correſpondence between the king and prince *Rupert*. This was only a prelude to what ſoon followed, when his perſonal ſervice in the houſe was diſpenſed with, and his commiſſion continued from time to time, till he was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the horſe, with the ſame full powers that *Manchester* had before enjoyed.

But when the firſt civil war was over, *Cromwell* had yet a more difficult part to act. Diſſentions broke out between the parliament, which was chiefly preſbyterians, and the army, which inclined to independency. Theſe differences were heightened by the citizens of *London*, who addreſſed the parliament againſt the independants, and complained particularly againſt the army, where, they ſaid, ſeveral of them were neither learned or ordained, took upon them

them to preach and expound the ſcripture. *Cromwell*, for a long time, ſeemed to favour preſbytery; but having got ſeveral of his friends into power, and finding the army on his ſide, he eſpouſed the independent party. Hereupon the parliament grew very jealous of him, and were for taking meaſures to diſmiſs him, and his partizans, from their military poſts. *Cromwell* was no leſs jealous of them, and being aware of what they deſigned, reſolved to be even with them. Accordingly he took care to whiſper ſuſpicions of the parliament, and make a ſtrong party for military power.

There was certainly a deſign on foot to break ſome of the independent regiments, and ſend the others to *Ireland*; of which *Cromwell* getting timely notice, he and *Ireton* got it inſinuated thro' all the army, that the parliament intended to diſband them without paying their arrears, or elſe to deſtroy them in *Ireland* with ſickneſs and famine. The ſoldiers were ſo exaſperated, that when the orders came for diſbanding ſome, and tranſporting others, they refuſed to comply with them. When the parliament heard this, they were highly offended, and ſome threatning expreſſions came from ſome of the members; which cauſed *Cromwell*, then in the houſe, to whiſper *Ludlow*, who ſtood by, ſaying, "Theſe men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears."

A ſpirit of oppoſition being raiſed in the army, they began to enter into competition with the parliament, and to claim a ſhare with them in ſettling the kingdom; and that they might be upon a nearer level with them, they made choice of a number of ſuch officers as they approved, which was called the general's council of officers, and was to reſemble the houſe of peers; and three or four out of each regiment, moſtly corporals or ſerjeants, were choſen by the common ſoldiers, and called agitators, who were to anſwer to the houſe of commons. Theſe two bodies met ſeparately, and examined all the acts and orders

orders of the parliament towards ſettling the kingdom, and reforming, dividing or diſbanding the army; and after ſome conſultations, they unanimouſly declared, "That they would not be divided or diſbanded till their full arrears were paid, and till full proviſion was made for liberty of conſcience, which hitherto had been but little ſecured." They added, "That as they had voluntarily taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, of which they were a part, before they would lay down thoſe arms, they would ſee all thoſe ends provided for." This declaration was delivered at the bar of the houſe of commons, by three or four perſons of the army's council.

This contrivance for keeping the army together, and ſetting them up againſt the parliament, was a maſterly ſtroke of *Cromwell*'s. It not only ſaved him at preſent, but proved the foundation of all his future greatneſs: For the army continued reſolute in their deſign, and grew more haughty in their expreſſions, till the difference ſeemed almoſt irreconcilable. *Fairfax*, the general, was a preſbyterian; but then *Cromwell* had ſo much the aſcendant over him, as well as over the army, that he was prevailed with to write a letter to back the army's petitions. Theſe proceedings very much troubled the parliament; but reſolving not to ſubmit to thoſe who lived on their pay, they declared, "That whoſoever ſhould refuſe, being commanded, to engage in the ſervice of *Ireland* ſhould be diſbanded." The army, however, would not recede from their reſolutions, and falling into direct mutiny, called for the arrears that was due to them, "which they knew where, and how to levy for themſelves." Nor would they be pacified till the declaration againſt them was erazed out of the journal-book, and a month's pay ſent to them. They ſtill went further, "That they knew how to make themſelves as conſiderable as the parliament, and where to have their ſervice better eſteemed and requited." This ſo

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ſtartled the parliament, that they ſent a committee to both houſes to treat with a committee of officers, upon the beſt means for compoſing thoſe differences. And thus the army, by a conceſſion of the parliament's, ſeemed to be put upon a level with it; and diſpoſed *Fairfax* to a greater concurrence with the humour of the ſoldiers, as he ſaw it ſo much complied with, and ſubmitted to.

Cromwell therefore thought it neceſſary to keep in with the parliament; and, thro' his excellent talent of diſſimulation, he would ſeem highly diſpleaſed with the inſolence of the ſoldiers, and ſeemed very angry at their preſumption in the houſe of commons, when any of their addreſſes were preſented. He alſo propoſed, that the general might be ſent down to the army, who, he ſaid, would pull down this mutinous ſpirit. Himſelf, by theſe means, was once or twice ſent, to bring them to order; when, after ſtaying two or three days, he returned to the parliament, and brought great complaints of the licence that was got into the army, declaring, "That for his own part, he was rendered ſo odious to them by the artifice of his enemies, that they had deſigned to kill him, if he had not timely eſcaped out of their hands." But he was much ſuſpected by ſome, notwithſtanding this, of having encouraged the army's proceedings; and the moſt active officers and agitators were believed to be his creatures, who would do nothing without his directions; ſo that it was privately reſolved by the chief members of the houſe of commons, that when he came next day to the houſe, which he ſeldom failed to do, they would ſend him to the tower.

This deſign could not be managed ſo ſecretly, but *Cromwell* got intelligence of it. The next day, when the houſe expected every minute to ſee him come in, they were informed he was met out of town by break of day, with only one ſervant, poſting away to the army. Here he ordered a rendezvous of ſome regiments of horſe, and then diſpatched a letter

a letter to the houſe of commons, to acquaint them, "That the jealouſy the troops had conceived of him was much abated, and he had therefore been invited by the officers to his own regiment, in order to reclaim them by his advice; in which view he made all poſſible haſte to the army." He alſo adviſed a general rendezvous of the troops, and that general *Fairfax* might be ſent down with all expedition.

It was during this quarrel between the houſe of commons and the army, that *Cromwell* gave the world that ſpecimen of his deep artifice, which was related by ſir *Harbottle Grimſton* to biſhop *Burnet*. In a meeting of officers it was propoſed to purge the army better, in order to know whom they might depend on. *Cromwell* ſaid, "He was ſure of the army; but there was another body, naming the houſe of commons, that wanted more to be purged, and the army could only do that." This was reported to the houſe by *Grimſton*, and witneſſes atteſted it at the bar; thereupon *Cromwell*, who was preſent, fell down upon his knees, and made a ſolemn prayer to God, atteſting his innocence, and great zeal for the ſervice of the houſe. This he did with great vehemence, and many tears; after which he made a long ſpeech, juſtifying himſelf and the reſt of the officers, except a few, who ſeemed inclinable to return back to *Egypt*, as he phraſed it. Thus was the houſe wrought upon by theſe means, that what the witneſſes ſaid was little regarded; and *Grimſton* was of opinion, that had the motion been made, both he and they would have been ſent to the *Tower*. *Cromwell*, however, no ſooner got out of the houſe, but he reſolved not to truſt himſelf there again; ſo haſtening to the army, he in a few days brought them to town, and did in effect purge the houſe of many members, which enabled him to treat the reſt as he pleaſed.

There is another ſtory of mr. *Lock*, in his memoirs of *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, the firſt earl of *Shaftsbury*, which

which deſerves to be here inſerted. He tells us, that ſir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* (for he was not a lord till after the reſtoration) calling upon mr. *Holles*, in his way to the houſe, found him in a great heat againſt *Cromwell*, ſaying, "He was reſolved to bring him to puniſhment." *Cooper* ſhewed him how dangerous ſuch an attempt might be, earneſtly perſuaded him from it, and told him it would be enough to ſend him with a command into *Ireland*; and, as things ſtood, he would be glad to accept: But this would not ſatisfy *Holles*, who, when he came to the houſe, brought the matter to a debate, wherein it was moved, that *Cromwell*, and thoſe guilty with him, ſhould be puniſhed. *Cromwell* being then in the houſe, immediately ſtole out, took horſe, and hurry'd away to the army, who were at *Triploe-Heath*, and informed them of what was doing in the houſe by the preſbyterian party, and made ſuch uſe of it, that the army united under him, and forthwith led them to *London*, gave out ſuch menaces againſt *Holles* and his party, that they were forced to abſent themſelves, whereby the independent party became the ſtrongeſt. Soon after, meeting ſir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, *Cromwell* ſaid to him, "I am beholden to you for your kindneſs to me; for you, I hear, was for letting me go without puniſhment; but your friend, God be thanked, was not cunning enough to take your advice."

The ſeizing the king at *Holmby*, thro' *Cromwell*'s inſtigation, and the uſe that was made of him by the army againſt the parliament, are matters that have been elſewhere mentioned. There is no queſtion but *Cromwell* had herein a view of his own intereſt, and to the keeping the parliament under, tho' I have made it very manifeſt, that his good intentions towards the king were real, provided he could have ſecured himſelf and the liberties of the people by a reſtoration, and had not his majeſty dealt unfairly by him. I ſhall not repeat any of the intrigues on that ſcore; but muſt not omit any action of

Cromwell

Cromwell, while they were on foot, that ſhews more preſence of mind and perſonal courage, as well as deep penetration, than almoſt any other paſſage that is to be met with in hiſtory.

It was the deſign of the levellers, who were at this time a great part of the army, not only to aboliſh monarchy, but alſo the houſe of peers, and to eſtabliſh a pure democracy. This was what colonel *Rainsborough*, one of their leaders, aſſiſted by others, went about ſoliciting from one regiment to another, ſtirring up the ſoldiers againſt *Fairfax*, *Cromwell*, and the other general officers, who were ſuſpected of being for an accommodation. But *Cromwell* was reſolved to endeavour the ſuppreſſion of this licence, which he thought could be effected only by ſome extraordinary act of authority. Being accompanied therefore with ſeveral officers, he with an undaunted courage, rode up to one of the regiments, that had the diſtinguiſhing marks, which every one had on a piece of paper, with theſe words written upon it in his hat, *The rights of England, and the conſent of the People*, and commanded them to take them out of their hats; but they refuſing to do, he cauſed ſeveral of them to be ſeized, and knocked down two or three with his own hand; and the others being intimidated, they ſubmitted to him. He ordered one of thoſe that he had ſeized to be ſhot dead on the place, and delivered the reſt into the hands of the marſhal; then writing up an account of what he had done to the parliament, they returned him the thanks of the houſe.

He ſuppreſſed them in like manner ſome time after, when upon aboliſhing the council of agitators, they were once more exaſperated. There being a rendezvous at *Ware*, ſeveral regiments, and *Cromwell*'s own being among them, in purſuance of a petition they had preſented *Fairfax*, and in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves, wore white in their hats. *Cromwell* having notice of the deſign, ordered two regiments of horſe from diſtant quarters, who knew

nothing of this combination, to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up, *Cromwell* with an angry countenance, walks round, and, on a ſudden, commands one of thoſe two regiments to encompaſs a regiment of foot; and being accordingly done, he called four men by their names out of the body, and with his own hands committed them to the marſhal; and immediately calling a council of war (while the reſt of the confederates put their white colours into their pockets, and trembled at the boldneſs of *Cromwell*) tried and condemned them But they had the favour of caſting lots for their lives; and the two whoſe lot it was to die, were inſtantly ſhot to death by the other two, in ſight of the army.

The parliament and army being united againſt the king, upon his majeſty's refuſing to ſign the four preliminary bills, and colonel *Rainsborough* appointed admiral of the fleet, tumults and diſcontents began to renew among the people. In the mean time *Cromwell* appointed a meeting of ſeveral leading men of the preſbyterian and independent parties, both members of parliament and miniſters, in order to promote a reconciliation between the two intereſts. He could not effect it, on account of this inveterate animoſities; but the attempt ſhewed how indefatigable he always was, and how fruitful likewiſe in ſchemes for the ſervice of the cauſe.

Another conference was held by his contrivance, between the chiefs of the houſe and army, of whom himſelf was one, and the commonwealth's-men. The chiefs here delivered themſelves with ſome uncertainty, as to the form of government they ſhould prefer; but the commonwealth's-men abſolutely declared againſt monarchy, and recommended the eſtabliſhment of an equal commonwealth. *Cromwell* very artfully ſeemed unreſolved at preſent; but informed *Ludlow* afterwards, that he was inclined to be of his opinion, as to the expediency of a popular government, and from that time ſeemed to cloſe with

with the republicans; however this was only artifice, in order to ſecure himſelf in thoſe troubleſome times, under the ſhelter of that powerful party; which *Ludlow* ſuſpecting, he freely told him, "You know how to cajole and give us good words, when you have a mind to make uſe of us." However, *Cromwell*, tho' always ſuſpected by one ſide or the other, and ſometimes by all parties together, ſtill preſerved his footing, either by making himſelf neceſſary to the publick, or by falling in with the governing faction, or by ſetting up another faction that might over-balance the former.

One of his moſt effectual engines in theſe enthuſiaſtical times, was his continual pretenſions of humility and devotion, aſcribing the glory of all his actions to the providence of God, ſmiling on the juſtice of the parliament's cauſe. And how little ſoever ſuch a behaviour would take at preſent, it was then the only way of becoming popular; as popularity, eſpecially in the army, was the infallible way to power, ſo that tho' hypocriſy, in matters of religion, is undoubtedly very odious, yet as much may here be ſaid to extenuate the crime of it, as in any other inſtance I know. One may even venture to ſay, that if *Cromwell*'s diſſimulation be any diſadvantage to his character, we may, from the ſame principal, condemn moſt of the great men in all ages, who have conformed with popular prejudices to ſerve the ends of ambition; for whether the point be religion or policy (if indeed there be any difference between theſe two among the great ones of the earth) the deception is juſt the ſame, and the laws of truth equally violated.

Soon after the death of the king, the commons voted the houſe of peers to be uſeleſs and dangerous; and an act was accordingly paſs'd for aboliſhing it, tho' *Cromwell* is ſaid to have appeared in their behalf. And to remove all that ſtood in the way of their intended commonwealth, they reſolved and declared, "That it had been found by experience, that

that the office of a king in this nation, was unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous to the liberty, ſafety, and publick intereſt of the nation; and therefore it ſhould be utterly aboliſhed." Then the form of government was declared to be a commonwealth; and a council of ſtate was appointed, conſiſting of forty perſons, whereof *Cromwell* was one; and power given him to ſettle and command the militia of *England* and *Ireland*, to order the fleet, and ſet forth ſuch a naval power as they ſhould think fit, to appoint magazines and ſtores for *England* and *Ireland*, and to diſpoſe of them for the ſervice of both nations, as they thought proper; and they were to ſit and execute theſe powers for the ſpace of one whole year. From this time all writs, formerly running in the king's name, were to be iſſued out in the names of the keepers of the liberty of *England*: And a new oath, or engagement was prepared, which was, "To be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers;" all who refuſed to take it, to be incapable of holding any place or office in church or ſtate. It was during the exiſtence of this commonwealth, in which *Cromwell* had the chief ſway, that the lord *Capel*'s petition, that his lady delivered, was read in the houſe. That nobleman was condemned for high-treaſon, together with duke *Hamilton*, the earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, and ſir *John Owen*. Several ſpoke in his favour, and ſaid, that he had never deceived or betrayed them, but had always freely and reſolutely declared for the king; and *Cromwell*, who knew him very well, ſpoke ſo many things to his honour, and profeſſed ſo much reſpect for him, that all thought he was ſafe, till he concluded, "That his affection for the publick ſo out-weighed his private friendſhip, that he could not but tell them, that the queſtion was now, Whether they would preſerve the moſt bitter and implacable enemy they had? That he knew well, that the lord *Capel* would be the laſt man in *England* that would aban-

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don the royal intereſt; that he had great courage, induſtry, and generoſity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he liv'd, what condition ſoever he was in, he would be a thorn in their ſides; and therefore for the good of the commonwealth, he ſhould give his vote againſt the petition." By this ſpeech he effectually prevented the lenity of the houſe, which every one thought would have taken place.

About this time, ſeveral things were declared by the parliament to be high-treaſon, and among the reſt, "For any ſoldier of the army to contrive the death of their general, or lieutenant-general, or endeavour to raiſe mutinies in the army." The extending of this to the lieutenant-general by name, plainly ſhews what power *Cromwell* had acquired under that title; and there is good reaſon to think, that this act was made purely for the ſecurity of his perſon.

The wars being all over, as well in *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and the reſt of the *Britiſh* iſles, as in *England*, *Cromwell*, who with the title of lord general, was at this time poſſeſſed of ſupreme authority, deſired a meeting of ſeveral members of parliament, and ſome of the principal officers of the army, at the ſpeaker's houſe. This was ſoon after the battle of *Worceſter*. *Whitelock*, who was one of the number, gives a remarkable account of the conference here held. *Cromwell* propoſed, that ſome method might be fixed on for ſettling the liberties of the nation, both civil and ſpiritual; and upon *Whitelock*'s offering in the firſt place, to conſider whether an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy, were to be preferred: *Cromwell* added, that *Whitelock* had hit upon the right point. "It is my inclination, ſays he, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government, will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be lodged." Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, lord chief juſtice *St. John*, *Lenthall*

Lenthall the ſpeaker, and *Whitelock*, were for monarchy; becauſe any other form of government, they ſaid, would make too great an alteration in the proceedings of our law. *Fleetwood* was in doubt which to prefer: *Desborough* and *Whalley*, both noted republicans, were not for having any mixture of monarchical power. But as a proper perſon, in caſe ſuch a power were admitted, no body was nominated but one of the late king's ſons. Whereupon *Cromwell* told them, "That this would be a matter of more than ordinary difficulty; but he thought, if it might be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our rights, that a ſettlement with ſomething of monarchical power in it would be very effectual."

It appeared in general, from the diſcourſe that paſſed, that the ſoldiers were for a pure republick, the lawyers for a mix'd monarchy, and many for the duke of *Glouceſter* to be made king; but *Cromwell* ſtill put off that debate to ſome other point. Hence it ſeems evident, that having now entertin'd thoughts of ſetting up for himſelf, his only deſign in this conference, was to diſcover the inclinations of the perſons preſent, that he might make a proper uſe thereof, in proſecuting the ends of his own ambition, which was much heightened by the finiſhing ſtroke that was given to his ſucceſſes, in the late glorious battle of *Worceſter*.

He had already, indeed, a power little leſs than ſovereign. His commiſſion for *Ireland* expiring, tho' the parliament did not renew it in the ſame form, yet they made him general and commander in chief of all the forces in that kingdom, by virtue of which commiſſion he appointed *Fleetwood* his deputy; in ſhort, the whole military power was in his hands, and the civil adminiſtration almoſt entirely under his influence; but his ambition aſcended yet higher, and the confuſed ſtate of the legiſlature, as it appeared like a body without a head, gave him a plauſible excuſe for puſhing on, and aſſuming that authority to himſelf, which was viſibly wanting.

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In a converſation with *Whitelock* alone, ſoon after the conference above-mention'd, he open'd himſelf more fully than he had hitherto done. He complained that the officers of the army were inclined to factions and murmurings, and ſpread the ſame ſpirit among the private ſoldiers; that the members of the parliament were proud, ambitious, partial, covetous, and many of them ſcandalous in their lives; that it would be impoſſible to prevent the ruin of the nation, unleſs ſome authority were ſet up that might reſtrain and keep things in better order. *Whitelock* confeſſed the danger they were in from ſuch extravagancies as theſe; but ſaid, his excellency had power to reſtrain the ſoldiers, which as he had hitherto done, ſo he might do it ſtill; and, as to the members of parliament, tho' ſome of them were to blame, yet better things might be hoped of the reſt. And upon *Cromwell*'s intimating that he could not hope for much good from them, *Whitelock* inſiſted, that as they had been acknowledged the ſupreme power, and all commiſſions taken out in their name, it would now be very difficult for thoſe who acted under them to curb their authority.

The general finding he did not come to the point, put this ſhort Queſtion, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?" *Whitelock* ſaid, "He thought the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe;" and gave this reaſon as to *Cromwell* in particular, that as he had already the full kingly power, the title would only bring with it envy and danger equal to the pomp. *Cromwell* then argued on the legality of a king by election, and inſiſted on the ſtatute of king *Henry* VII. which makes it ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power. The legality *Whitelock* owned, but very much doubted the expediency of it; and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended in taking this title?" he anſwered, "That it would entirely alter the ſtate of the controverſy between them and their adverſaries; for as the

the diſpute had hitherto been, whether the government ſhould be in a monarchy, or in a free commonwealth; the only queſtion then woule be, whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* ſhould be monarch; and thus all who were for a commonwealth, being a very conſiderable party, finding their hopes fruſtrated, would be entirely againſt the eſtabliſhment."

Cromwell acknowledged the reaſon of what the commiſſioner had ſaid, and demanded, what other expedient he could propoſe, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties. But the other was ſilent for ſome time, until *Cromwell* had aſſured him that no harm ſhould come of it; then he ſet forth the hazard the general would run from his ſecret enemies, and even from the officers of the army, who would be ſpirited up by many members of parliament and others; and upon the general thanking him for his care, and encouraging him to proceed, he propoſed the bringing in of the king of *Scots*, meaning *Charles* II. under ſuch reſtrictions as might ſecure the liberty of the ſubject, and with ample proviſions for *Cromwell* himſelf, and all his friends. Which advice ſeemed not very agreeable; for tho' *Cromwell* owned the reaſon of it, he put off the farther conſideration of the affair, and went away with ſome diſpleaſure in his looks. After this, his behaviour towards *Whitelock* was colder than formerly, and he ſoon found occaſion, by an honourable employment, to ſend him out of the nation, on an embaſſy to *Sweden*. This behaviour, as well as another converſation he had with the city divines, plainly intimated that the general's intentions, at this time, were no leſs than to bring the crown upon his own head.

The concurrence of leading men not being to be procured, a cry was immediately promoted in the army againſt the long parliament, accompanied with warm declarations for right and juſtice, and publick liberty, which were ſaid to be now wanting, while the members were all kings, and ordered things as they

they pleaſed. If the parliament would not diſſolve themſelves, it was ſaid, and ſuffer a new repreſentative to be choſen, the army and people muſt do it for them. And that no obſtacle might be in the way of the intended government, means were found to ſet the young duke of *Glouceſter* at liberty, who had been confined ever ſince the king's death, and ſend him out of the kingdom.

While this clamour was kept up in the army, and backed every day with petitions, addreſſes, and remonſtrances, demanding the payment of their arrears, and the diſſolution of the parliament; ſome of the officers proteſted againſt them, and one major *Streater* was ſo bold as to declare, "That the general deſigned to ſet up for himſelf;" upon which *Harriſon*, a fifth monarchy man, ſaying he believed the contrary, and that the general's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jeſus; the major replied, "Unleſs Jeſus comes very ſuddenly, he will come too late."

During theſe tranſactions abroad, a diſſolution was moved for in the houſe itſelf, by ſome of *Cromwell*'s friends; but the only effect it had, was to procure a vote for filling up the houſe, and to declare it high-treaſon for any one to propoſe a change in the preſent government. Hereupon *Cromwell* held a conſultation with ſome officers and members whom he knew to be in his intereſt, to conſider of ſome expedient for carrying on the government, and putting an end to the parliament: But at their ſecond meeting, news being brought that the parliament were then ſitting, and it was hoped would diſſolve themſelves, the conference was broke off, and the members preſent left *Cromwell*, to go and ſtrengthen his intereſt in the houſe; when, contrary to their expectation, they found a motion under debate, for continuing the preſent parliament above a year and a half longer. This news was carried to *Cromwell*, who went directly to *Weſtminſter*.

Having brought with him a party of ſoldiers, to

the number of three hundred, he placed ſome of them at the doors, ſome in the lobby, and others on the ſtairs. Then entering the houſe, he told his friend ſir *John*, "That he came to do that which griev'd him to the ſoul; but there was a neceſſity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God, and the good of the nation" He then ſat down for ſome time, and heard the debates on the above act, making an offer to put his deſign in execution, but was perſuaded from it by *Harriſon*. At laſt, when the queſtion for paſſing the act was put, he ſaid to *Harriſon*, "This is the time, I muſt do it." And ſo ſtanding on a ſudden, he deſired the ſpeaker to leave the chair, and told the houſe, "they had ſat long enough, unleſs they had done more good." Then charging ſeveral with their private vices, he told them in general, "That they had not a heart to do any thing for the publick good, but only an intention to perpetrate themſelves in power." And when ſome of them began to ſpeak, he ſtepped into the midſt of the houſe, and ſaid, "Come, come, I will put a ſtop to your prating." Then walking up and down the houſe, he cried out, "You are no parliament; I ſay you are no parliament;" and ſtamping with his feet, he bid them "be gone, and give place to honeſter men." Upon this ſignal, the ſoldiers entered, and he ſaid to one of them, "Take away that fool's bauble," meaning the mace; and *Harriſon* taking the ſpeaker by the arm, he came down from the chair. After this addreſſing himſelf to the members, the general told them, "They had forced him to do this:" So ſeizing all their papers, he ordered the ſoldiers to clear the houſe of the members; and having cauſed the doors to be locked up, he returned to *Whitehall*. In the afternoon he did the ſame thing by the council of ſtate, where he was boldly oppoſed by ſerjeant *Bradſhaw*. But nothing could ſtop him in the execution of his deſign.

Now we are to conſider the government of *England*, under the remnant of the long parliament, as a kind

kind of anarchy. Many of the ableſt members, either thro' compulſion or of choice, had no longer ſeats in the houſe of commons; and thoſe who remained, at leaſt the majority of them, if we may judge of what would be by what had happen'd, were degenerating apace from thoſe noble principles that had at firſt diſtinguiſhed them; and having taſted the ſweets of power, were endeavouring to eſtabliſh themſelves in the full and laſting poſſeſſion of it, to the utter excluſion of their fellow-ſubjects, who upon the principles now avow'd, had an equal right to it with themſelves. What would this have been, but the erecting of a tyranny worſe than that they complained of, the tyranny of the many inſtead of an arbitrary monarchy?

Thus while affairs were going on, if there was any member of the commonwealth who had ſufficient power to ſtop the courſe of them, and turn the conſtitution, which had been thus diverted, into its old and natural channel, that of monarchy, was it not his duty, was it not for the general good of the nation that he ſhould do this? *Oliver Cromwell* had ſuch a power; he ſaw the neceſſity of exerting it, and by an act of heroiſm that is hardly to be paralleled, he undertook and went thro' with the work in his own perſon, while his timerous friends perſuaded him from the attempt, and looked on trembling for the event. It ended ſucceſsfully both to himſelf and his friends, as well as to the nation in general, whoſe laws he maintained, whoſe honour he aſſerted, whoſe reputation he raiſed, more than any ſovereign had done for a long time before.

It is manifeſt from many inſtances, that there are ſuch criſiſes in governments, as well as in arts and ſciences, when a maſter genius may exert itſelf, and by deviating from the common rules, effect that in a few bold and licentious ſtrokes, which a regular proceſs could never reach! I may venture to add, that ſuch a genius as this is ſometimes neceſſary, and what alone can reſtore the ruins of a decayed conſtitution,

ſtitution, and repair the devaſtations of the unſkilful many. The dictatorſhip of *Cæſar*, however obtained, was better for *Rome*, than the times that preceded it, when the emulation of her great men were a continual ſource of contention; and the protectorſhip of *Cromwell*, tho' not conferr'd in the moſt legal manner, was more glorious to *England*, than the reigns of her two preceding monarchs, or any the confuſed uſurpation of her whimſical commonwealth. If either the *Roman* or the *Briton* had acted the tyrant, it had been but as one in the room of many; but hiſtory has freed *Cæſar* from all imputations of this kind, except in ſuch caſes where his own ſecurity, and the temper of the times obliged him to it; and that *Cromwell*'s ſeverity never went farther than this, is what his enemies, amidſt their invectives, are obliged to allow.

Cromwell had three aſſemblies during his whole adminiſtration, that met under the name of parliaments. Conſidering all circumſtances, it could hardly be expected that the firſt of theſe, before he knew the temper of the nation, ſhould be left to the choice of thoſe very electors, whoſe repreſentatives he had forcibly diſſolved. But it was ſoon manifeſt, that this diſſolution was very grateful and acceptable to the nation in general; for when he and his council of officers publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth the reaſons of this arbitrary proceeding, it was anſwered by addreſſes and congratulations from the fleet, the army, and the corporations, who acknowledged the juſtice of the action, and promiſed to ſtand by the preſent government. And this very affair gave riſe to the practice of addreſſing, which hath ſince been ſo common under all our monarchs.

Under this convention, choſen by ſummons directed to particular perſons, it appeared that ſo far was *Cromwell* from intending to take away the freedom of parliaments, that in the inſtrument of government then paſſed, which conſtituted him lord protector, proviſion was made for carrying on the

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elections in a more equitable manner, and with leſs poſſibility of corruption and miniſterial influence, than ever had been known under the beſt monarchs; and this by confining the choice to the counties, cities, and great boroughs, according to their number of people, and their real intereſt in the lands, wealth, and trade of the kingdom. He alſo united the three kingdoms in common intereſt, by allowing *Scotland* and *Ireland* to ſend repreſentatives to the parliament at *Weſtminſter*. All this will appear in the inſtrument itſelf, which was paſſed on the 12th of *December* 1653, and conſiſted of forty-two articles, the ſubſtance of which is as follows,

"That the ſupreme legiſlative authority be and reſide in a ſingle perſon, and the people in parliament; the ſtile of which perſon to be lord-protector of the commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. The executive power to be in the protector, with the advice of his council; the number whereof not to exceed twenty-one, nor be leſs than thirteen. All proceedings to be in the name and ſtile of the lord-protector; and all honours, offices, and titles to be derived from him; and that he may pardon all offences but treaſon and murder. The militia, in time of parliament, to be in his and their hands; but in the intervals only in his and his council's. He and his council to make war and peace with foreign princes: Not to make new laws, or abrogate old ones, without conſent of parliament. A parliament to be ſummoned to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the third day of *September* 1654, and afterwards every third year, and if need be, oftener, which the protector ſhall not diſſolve without conſent in parliament, till after five months. The parliament to conſiſt of four hundred *Engliſh*, to be choſen according to the propoſitions and numbers hereafter expreſſed, that is to ſay, For the county of *Bedford* ſix, *viz.* for the town of *Bedford*, one; for the county of *Bedford*, five. For the county of *Berks*, ſeven, *viz.* for the borough of *Abington*, one; for the borough of *Reading*, one;

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for the county of *Berks*, five, *&c.* The members for *Cornwall* were in this inſtrument reduced to twelve; thoſe for *Eſſex* were enlarged to ſixteen; and the city of *London* was to chuſe ſix. The members for *Scotland* were to be thirty, and the ſame number for *Ireland*. The ſummoning the parliament to paſs under the ſeal of the commonwealth to the ſheriffs; and if the protector omit or deny that, then the commiſſioner of the ſeal to be held under pain of treaſon to iſſue out ſuch writs; and in caſe of failure in him, the high ſheriffs. Such as are elected, to be returned into the chancery by the chief magiſtrates (ſheriffs, mayors, or bailiffs) within the ſpace of twenty days after the election. If either the ſheriff, mayor, or bailiff make a falſe return, or any ways procure an undue election, let him be fined two thouſand pounds. Thoſe who have borne arms againſt the parliament to be incapable of being elected, or giving their vote for any members to ſerve in the next parliament, or in the three ſucceeding triennal parliaments; and the *Iriſh* rebels and papiſts to be for ever incapable. None to be elected under the age of twenty-one years, nor unleſs he be a man of good converſation. None to have votes in elections but ſuch as are worth 200 *l.* Sixty to make a quorum. Bills preſented to the protector, if not aſſented to by him within twenty days, to paſs into laws notwithſtanding; provided they contain nothing contrary to this inſtrument. A competent revenue to be ſettled for the maintenance of ten thouſand horſe and dragoons, and twenty thouſand foot, in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and for a convenient number of ſhips to guard the ſeas; and upon abateing any of the forces by land or ſea, the monies to be brought to the *Exchequer* to ſerve ſudden occaſions. The raiſing of money for defraying the charge of the preſent extraordinary forces both at land and ſea, to be by conſent in parliament, and not otherwiſe; ſave only that the protector, with the advice of his council, ſhall have power, until the meeting

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of the firſt parliament, to raiſe money for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and alſo to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of theſe nations; which ſhall be in force till the parliament ſhall take order concerning the ſame. All forfeited lands unſold, to belong to the protector. The protectorate to be elective, but the royal family to be excluded; and no protector after the preſent to be general of the army. *Oliver Cromwell* to be the preſent protector. All the great offices of the commonwealth, ſuch as chancellor, keeper of the ſeal, treaſurer, admiral, governors of *Ireland*, *Scotland*, &c. if they become void in time of parliament, to be ſupplied with their approbation, and in intervals of parliament, with the approbation of the council. The chriſtian religion, as contained in the holy ſcriptures, to be the publick profeſſion of theſe nations; and thoſe that adminiſter it, to be maintained by the publick, but by ſome way more convenient and leſs liable to envy than tithes. None to be compelled to conſent to the publick profeſſion by fine, or any puniſhment whatever, but only by perſuaſion and arguments. None that profeſs faith in Chriſt, however otherwiſe they differ, to be reſtrain'd from, but to be protected in the exerciſe of their religion, ſo they do not quarrel with and diſturb others; this liberty, however, not to extend to popery or prelacy. All ſales of parliament to ſtand good. Articles of peace to be kept. The protectors ſucceſſively, upon entering on their charge, to ſwear to procure by all means the peace, quiet, and welfare of the commonwealth; to obſerve theſe articles, and to adminiſter all things (to their power) according to the laws, ſtatutes, and cuſtoms."

The protector having been inſtall'd and ſworn, in a very pompous and ſolemn manner, proceeded to the exerciſe of his authority, which he uſed at home with great moderation and equity, but ſo effectually aſſerted at all foreign courts, that he ſoon made the greateſt figure in *Europe*, and received marks of reſpect

ſpect from all the ſovereigns in chriſtendom, who trembled at his power, and courted his friendſhip, at the ſame time that they hated his perſon.

At the time appointed he ſummoned his ſecond parliament, according to the tenor of the recited inſtrument; and the 3d of *September* being his fortunate day, tho' it happened to be *Sunday*, he reſolved to open the ſeſſion. This he did with all the ſolemnity of our kings, in the painted chamber at *Whitehall*. And the next day riding in ſtate to *Weſtminſter*, he there heard a ſermon; after which, in a long and artful ſpeech to the parliament, he took a view of the ſtate of the nation, and the advantages that had been procured under the preſent government. Some of the paragraphs are as follows:

He told them "the danger of the levelling principles, and of the fifth monarchy opinions, that the two pretenſions, liberty of the ſubject, and liberty of conſcience, were brought in to patronize thoſe evils. Nay theſe abominations ſwelled to that pitch, that the ax was laid to the root of the miniſtry; and as the extremity was great before, ſo that no man, tho' well approved, might preach, if not ordained; ſo now, on the other hand, they will have ordination a nullity upon the calling.

"I conceive in my ſoul, ſaid he, that many of the fifth-monarchy opinion have good meanings; and I hope this parliament will pluck ſome out of the fire, and ſave others with fear; the danger of that ſpirit being not in the notion, but in its proceeding to a civil tranſgreſſion.

"Whilſt theſe things were in the midſt of us, and the nation rent and torn from one end to the other; family againſt family, parent againſt child, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men, but overturn, overturn; that common enemy in the mean time ſleeps not; ſwarms of jeſuits come over, and have their conſiſtories abroad, to rule all the affairs of *England*, and the dependencies thereof; in the mean time viſible endeavours were uſed to hinder

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the work in *Ireland*, to obſtruct the work in *Scotland*; correſpondences and intelligences were held to encourage the war in thoſe places.

" And withal, we are deeply engaged in a war with *Portugal*, whereby our trade ceaſed; and not only ſo, but a war with *Holland*, which conſumed our treaſure, as much as the aſſeſſment came to. At the ſame time we fell into a war with *France*, or rather we were in it; and all this fomented by the diviſions amongſt us; which begat a confidence, that we could not hold out long; and the calculation had not been ill, if the Lord had not been gracious to us. Beſides, ſtrangers encreaſed in the manufacture, the ſtaple commodity of this nation.

" In ſuch a heap of confuſion was this poor nation; and that it might not ſink into a confuſion from the premiſes, a remedy muſt be applied; a remedy hath been applied, *This government*. A thing that is ſeen and read of all, and which (let men ſay what they will, I can ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all, as to my intention; and let men judge out of the thing itſelf) for the intereſt of the people alone, and for their good, without reſpect had to any other intereſt.

" I may, with humbleneſs towards God, and modeſty before you, ſay ſomething in the behalf of it.

" It hath endeavoured to reform the laws, and for that end hath join'd perſons (without reflection upon any) of as great integrity and ability as any other, to conſider how the laws might be made plain, ſhort, and eaſy, which may in due time be render'd.

" It hath taken care to put into ſeats of juſtice, men of the moſt known integrity and ability.

" The chancery hath been reformed, and I hope to the juſt ſatisfaction of all good men.

" It hath put a ſtop to that heady way, for every man that will to make himſelf a preacher, having endeavoured to ſettle a way for approbation of men of piety and fitneſs for the work, and the buſineſs

committed to perſons both of the preſbyterian and independent judgment; men of as known ability and integrity, as any the nation hath.

" It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work, who have been the common ſcorn and reproach to that adminiſtration.

" One thing more: It hath been inſtrumental to call a free parliament; bleſſed be God, we ſee here this day a free parliament; and that it may continue ſo, I hope, is in the heart of every good man of *England*; for my own part, as I deſir'd it above my life, ſo to keep it free, I ſhall value it above my life.

" A peace is made with *Sweden*, wherein an honourable perſon [meaning *Whitelock*] was inſtrumental; it being of much importance to have a good underſtanding with our proteſtant neighbours.

" A peace is alſo made with the *Danes*, and a peace that is honourable, and to the ſatisfaction of the merchants.

" The *Sound* is open to us, from whence, as from a fountain, our naval proviſions are ſupplied.

" A peace is made with the *Dutch*, which is ſo well known in the conſequences of it, and the great advantages of a good underſtanding with proteſtant ſtates.

" I beg that it may be in your hearts to be zealous to the proteſtant intereſt abroad, which if ever it be like to come under a condition of ſuffering, it is now; many being baniſhed, and driven to ſeek refuge among ſtrangers.

" A peace is made with *Portugal* (tho' it hung long) of great concern to trade; and the people that trade thither, have freedom to enjoy their conſciences, without being ſubjected to the bloody inquiſition.

" A treaty with *France* likewiſe is now depending.

It may be neceſſary, in the next place, for you to hear a little of the ſea affairs, and to take notice of the great expence of the forces and fleet; and yet thirty

thirty thouſand pounds is now abated of the next three months aſſeſſment.

"Theſe things which I have before mentioned, are but entrances and doors of hope; you are brought to the edge of *Canaan*; but if the bleſſing and preſence of God go along with you in the management of your affairs, I make no queſtion but he will enable you to lay the top-ſtone of this work.

"But this is a maxim not to be deſpiſed: Tho' peace be made, yet it is intereſt that keeps peace, and farther than that, peace is not to be truſted.

"The great end of calling this parliament, is, that the work of God may go on, that the ſhip of this commonwealth may be brought into a ſafe harbour.

"I ſhall put you in mind, that you have a great work upon you; *Ireland* to look to, that the beginning of that government may be ſettled with honour.

"That you have before you the conſideration of thoſe foreign ſtates, with whom peace is not made; who, if they ſee we manage not our affairs with prudence, as becomes men, will retain hopes that we may ſtill, under the diſadvantages thereof, break into confuſion.

"I ſhall conclude with my perſuaſion to you, to have a ſweet, gracious, and holy underſtanding one of another; and put you in mind of the counſel you heard this day in order thereunto.

"And I deſire you to believe, that I ſpeak not to you as one that would be lord over you, but as one that is reſolved to be a fellow-ſervant with you to the intereſt of this great affair."

But this parliament, having choſen *Lenthall* for their ſpeaker, fell immediately upon the only point which the protector would have kept ſacred. They took the inſtrument of government into conſideration, and their firſt debate was upon this queſtion, "Whether the ſupreme legiſlative power of the nation ſhould be in a ſingle perſon, and a parliament." Theſe debates continued for ſeven or eight days, till

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he ſilenced them by a ſpeech, and a recognition oath impoſed on all the members that entered the houſe. Being reſtrained therefore from diſputing the protector's title, they fell upon the other articles of the inſtrument. They declared, "That *Oliver Cromwell* ſhould be protector during life; and limited the number of forces to be kept in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with proviſion for the payment of them. They agreed upon the number of ſhips that they thought neceſſary for the guard of the ſeas; and ordered two hundred thouſand pounds a year for the protector's own expence, the ſalaries of his council, the judges, foreign intelligence, and the reception of ambaſſadors; and that *Whitehall*, *St. James's*, the *Mews*, *Somerſet-Houſe*, *Greenwich*, *Hampton-Court*, *Windſor*, and the manor of *York*, be kept unſold for the protector's uſe: They alſo voted a clauſe to be inſerted, to declare the rights of the people of *England*, and particularly, that no money ſhould be raiſed upon the nation, but by authority of parliament. And whereas by the inſtrument of government it was provided, That if the parliament were not ſitting at the death of the preſent protector, the council ſhould chuſe a ſucceſſor; they reſolved, that nothing ſhould be determined by the council after his death, but the calling of a parliament, who were then to conſider what they would have done: They alſo approved and confirmed the preſent lord deputy of *Ireland*, the preſent lord commiſſioners of the great ſeal of *England*, the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and the two chief juſtices. Among other things, they debated the point of liberty of conſcience upon the new government, and agreed to allow it all, who ſhall not maintain atheiſm, popery, prelacy, profaneneſs, or any damnable hereſies, to be enumerated by the parliament."

Many things were ſaid during theſe debates, that gave great offence ro *Cromwell* and his council; in a word, this parliament was diſſolved after a ſeſſion of five months, by a very tedious and intricate

ſpeech;

ſpeech; wherein the protector upbraided them with their late proceedings: And who could wonder at it? Was there ever a man in the poſſeſſion of the ſupreme authority, who would ſuffer that authority to be publickly queſtioned? While they had a liberty of doing all they would for the honour of the nation, could they expect the privilege too of inſulting that magiſtrate, in whoſe name they were ſummoned together?

The protector's third parliament, which met on the 17th of *September*, 1656, was found more complying than any of the former. Some of the members however were excluded, for want of being approved by his highneſs's council, which occaſioned them to petition and remonſtrate very ſtrongly againſt the proceedings of the court: But thoſe who kept their ſeats, having choſen ſir *Thomas Widdrington* for their ſpeaker, not only approved of the protector's conduct in the war he had undertaken againſt *Spain*, but paſſed ſeveral acts for ſecuring his perſon and title, for carrying on the preſent war, and for the encouragement of trade; all which received the aſſent of his highneſs, who in a ſhort ſpeech returned them thanks for their care in ſupporting the government.

This parliament had not ſat above ſix months, before they drew up a new inſtrument, in order to compliment the protector with the title of king. It met with much oppoſition from the republicans, and the ſoldiers party; but at laſt was carried, and the word King ordered to be inſerted in a blank that was left for that purpoſe; and two other blanks that was left for the parliament, were to be filled up with the words Houſe of Commons, and Other Houſe. This inſtrument called, *The humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament to his Highneſs*, was preſented to him by the ſpeaker, who recommended the contents of it in a ſpeech. But the protector, how inclinable ſoever he was to accept of this offer, finding it againſt the humour of the army, and eſpecially

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that his ſon-in-law *Fleetwood* and his brother-in-law *Desborough* were very much averſe to it, inſtead of giving a ready aſſent to it, which was expected, deſired "that a committee might be appointed to confer with him, and to offer him better knowledge and ſatisfaction in this great cauſe."

Cromwell, as well as *Cæſar*, whom he reſembled on many accounts, was not ſo fond of a title which he ſaw would create diſcontent, as to aſſume it at all adventures. Fond enough indeed he would have been of it, if theſe obſtacles had not interfered; but when he found that his beſt friends in the army were immoveable, all the arguments of the commons committee, of which *Whitelock* was chairman, tho' they were inculcated for two days together, could not prevail with him to run the riſque of loſing the affections of the ſoldiers. After long deliberation, therefore, and ſome cloſe conferences with his brother and ſon-in-law beforementioned, who ſtood firmly to their opinion, he ordered the parliament to attend him in the painted chamber, and there in an obſcure ſpeech, containing much relating to conſcience, and the pains he had taken to ſatisfy himſelf, declared, "That he could not undertake the government with the title of King." Tho' at the ſame time he intimated, that he thought the ſettlement imperfect without it; and every one might diſcover, that the motive of his refuſal was rather policy than conſcience.

While this buſineſs was in agitation, the lord *Broghill* coming one day to *Cromwell*, and telling him he had been in the city, the protector enquir'd of him, what news he had heard there? *Broghill* told him, "he he had heard he was in treaty with the king, who was to be reſtored, and to marry his daughter." *Cromwell* ſhewing no diſlike at this, his lordſhip continued, "In the ſtate to which things are reduced, I can ſee no better expedient; you may bring him in upon what terms you pleaſe; and your highneſs may retain the ſame authority you now

now have, with leſs trouble." To which *Cromwell* anſwered, "The king can never forgive his father's blood." *Broghill* replied, "You are one of the many that were concerned in that, but will be alone in the merit of reſtoring." Upon which the protector ſaid, "He is ſo damnably debauch'd, he will undo us all;" and ſo turn'd to other diſcourſe, without any emotion; which made his lordſhip conclude, that he had often thought of the expedient. This ſtory is told by biſhop *Burnet*, who had it from lord *Broghill* when earl of *Orrery*.

Cromwell having refuſed the title of king, the parliament ſoon voted, "That he ſhould enjoy the title and authority he had already;" which was enlarged in many particulars beyond what it was by the former inſtrument, by the new one, called, *The humble Petition and Advice*. This inſtrument conſiſted of eighteen articles; but I ſhall give the ſubſtance of the principal ones, as follows: "That his highneſs, under the title of lord protector, would be pleaſed to exerciſe the office of chief magiſtrate over *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to govern according to all things in this *Petition and Advice*; alſo that in his life-time he would appoint the perſon that ſhould ſucceed in the government after his deceaſe: That he would call parliaments conſiſting of two houſes, once in three years at fartheſt: That thoſe perſons who were legally choſen by a free election of the people to ſerve in parliament, might not be excluded from doing their duties, but by conſent of that houſe whereof they were members: That none but thoſe under the qualifications therein mentioned, ſhould be capable to ſerve as members in parliament: That the power of the other houſe be limited as therein preſcribed: That the laws and ſtatutes of the land be obſerved and kept; and that no laws altered, ſuſpended, abrogated, or repealed, or new laws made, but by act of parliament: That the yearly ſum of a million of pounds ſterling be for the maintenance of the navy and army; and three hundred

hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the government, beſides other temporary ſupplies, as the commons in parliament ſhould ſee neceſſary: That the number of the protector's council ſhould not be above twenty-one; whereof the quorum to be ſeven, and not under: The chief officers of ſtate, as chancellor, keeper of the great ſeal, *&c.* to be approved by parliament: That his highneſs would encourage a godly miniſtry in theſe nations; and that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to law; and where the laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf: That the proteſtant chriſtian religion, as it is contain'd in the old and new teſtament, be aſſerted and held forth for the publick profeſſion of theſe nations, and no other; and that a confeſſion of faith be agreed upon and recommended to the people of theſe nations; and none be permitted, by words or writings, to revile or reproach the ſaid confeſſion of faith."

This inſtrument being digeſted and agreed upon, the houſe ſent to the protector for an audience, which he appointed to be on the 25th of *May*, in the *Banqueting-Houſe*. The members waiting upon him accordingly, their ſpeaker *Widdrington* preſented and read the ſaid inſtrument to him, and deſired his aſſent; which, after a long pauſe, he with all the ſigns of concern and perplexity granted. And thus did his highneſs accompliſh a chief part of what he deſigned; which was to have his power and authority confirmed by parliament.

It was thought proper, after this tranſaction, that the protector ſhould have a ſolemn inveſtiture. Notice of this was given to all foreign ambaſſadors and miniſters, and *Weſtminſter-Hall* was prepared and adorned as ſumptuouſly as it could be for a coronation. In ſhort, the ceremony was perform'd on the 26th of *June*, 1657, with the utmoſt grandeur and magnificence, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people; and there was a fine medal ſtruck on the occaſion,

occaſion, which had on one ſide the protector's buſt, with his title round it, and on the other an olive-tree flouriſhing in a field, with the words, *Non deficient olivæ*, by way of alluſion to his name.

Things went on amicably between the protector and his parliament, many bills were paſſed and ſigned, and the greateſt harmony ſeemed eſtabliſhed. But about the beginning of the year 1658, his highneſs, according to the tenor of the late petition and advice, ſent his writs of ſummons to divers perſons, to ſit as members of the other, or upper houſe. The forms of theſe writs, which were about ſixty, was the ſame uſed by our monarchs, for the ſummoning of peers to parliament; and indeed many of the perſons ſummoned were actually peers, and others were made ſo in the ſucceeding reign. Theſe being met in the houſe of lords, the protector went thither in royal ſtate, and made a ſpeech from the throne, beginning in the old ſtile, *My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Houſe of Commons.*

This ſtep, however, occaſioned a diviſion in the lower houſe, which ended in the diſſolution of this his third and laſt parliament: For ſeveral of theſe new lords being taken from among the commons, his intereſt was weakened in that houſe, to which many of the ſecluded members were alſo now admitted. Hereupon they fell to examining the authority and juriſdiction of the other houſe. And his highneſs finding them obſtinate on theſe points, after having adviſed them to unity without effect, ſent for them by the gentleman-uſher of the black rod into the houſe of lords, where he declared ſeveral urgent and weighty reaſons, which made it neceſſary for him to diſſolve this parliament; and accordingly he did diſſolve them.

Theſe peremptory ſummons's and ſudden diſſolutions were not agreeable to the *Engliſh* conſtitution, as it is now ſettled, and ſeem to have the appearance of abſolute deſpotiſm; but many ſteps that were

taken in preceding reigns, by monarchs whoſe right was in all the forms acknowledged, and who therefore had no excuſe for ſuch violent proceedings as *Cromwell*'s ſituation might ſometimes require, may ſerve greatly to alleviate, if not wholly to remove the weight of this accuſation; eſpecially if we reflect, that by all the appearances under his adminiſtration, it ſeems evident that *Cromwell* would never have taken one ſtep contrary to the liberties of parliament, provided they had only been quiet on the article of his authority, which it was not reaſonable to think he would ſuffer to be debated, after he was once in poſſeſſion.

When *Cromwell* firſt aſſumed the government, where there were three great parties in the nation all againſt him, the epiſcopal party, the preſbyterians, and the republicans. It required the greateſt ſkill and dexterity to manage theſe very oppoſite factions, and to prevent the ill effects of the plots and conſpiracies they were ſo ready to run into. All this, however he was able to accompliſh, by the ſuperior force of his genius; and biſhop *Burnet*, who was no friend to the protector's memory, informs us in what manner he proceeded. He had, according to that prelate, only the army to rely upon; and that enthuſiaſtick ſpirit he had taken ſo much pains to raiſe among them, rendered them very intractable: So that he was forced to break and impriſon many of his officers; and he flattered the reſt as well as he could, going on in his old way of long and dark diſcourſes.

He was apprehenſive of aſſaſſination, and other plottings, from the cavalier party; as to the former of which, he took a method that proved of great uſe to him. He would many times openly declare, "That in a war it was neceſſary to return upon any ſide, all the violent things that any of the one ſide did to the other; and this for the preventing greater miſchief, and for bringing men to fair war; and that aſſaſſinations were ſuch deteſtable things, that he

he would never begin them; but if any of the king's party ſhould endeavour to aſſaſſinate him, and fail in it, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and deſtroy the whole family." And he pretended he had inſtruments to do this, whenever he ſhould order it. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that it proved a better ſecurity to him than his guards: And whenever they were plotting againſt him, he had his agents and ſpies amongſt them, to give him notice of their preparations and proceedings; by which means all their ſchemes were fruſtrated, before they could bring them to perfection.

The preſbyterians ſo dreaded the fury of the commonwealth party, that they looked upon *Cromwell*'s turning them out to be a happy deliverance for them; and to ſoften theſe the more, he promiſed that he would maintain a publick miniſtry, with all due encouragement, which the republicans were entirely againſt; and he joined them in a commiſſion with ſome independents to be tryers of all publick preachers, who ſhould, for the future, be admitted to any benefice. The perſons ſo commiſſioned did likewiſe diſpoſe of all the livings that were in the gift of the crown, of the biſhops, and of the cathedral churches. Nevertheleſs, when he perceived that the preſbyterians began to take too much upon them, to be uneaſy under the government, or meddle in civil affairs, he found means to mortify them, and let looſe againſt them thoſe of the other ſects, who took pleaſure in diſputing with their preachers, and interrupting their religious worſhip; and 'tis ſaid, he was by many heard to glory, that he had curb'd that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf; ſo that they were forced to thank him for permitting them the exerciſe of their religious worſhip in their own congregations.

The republican party were his greateſt enemies, and moſt bent on his ruin, looking upon him as the perſon who had perfidiouſly broken all their meaſures, and betrayed their glorious cauſe. This party therefore

fore he ſtudied by all means to divide among themſelves, and to ſet the fifth-monarchy men, and other enthuſiaſts, againſt thoſe who proceeded only upon the principles of civil liberty; ſuch as *Algernon Sidney*, *Henry Nevill*, *Martin Ludlow*, *Wildman*, and *Harrington*.

As to *Vane* and his party, who were likewiſe independents, they indeed, from the time they were turned out of the long parliament, retired quietly into the country, where they endeavoured to prejudice their neighbours againſt the preſent government, and yet managed themſelves with ſo much caution, as not to diſturb the quiet of the nation, nor give the protector any advantage againſt them.

The levellers, many of whom had been the moſt active agitators in the army, were the moſt furious and deſperate of all the commonwealth party. Theſe, from the time the general aſſumed the title of protector, which was to them as odious as that of king, profeſſed a great hatred to his perſon; and he knew very well that theſe men, as well as the laſt mentioned, had great credit in the army, and with ſome of the chief officers; ſo that he more really dreaded them than all the king's party, and ſubtily coloured many of the preparations he made againſt them, as if they had been deſigned againſt the other.

The fifth-monarchy men ſeemed to be in daily expectation of the coming of king Jeſus, and the protector found it no eaſy matter to give them ſatisfaction; ſince his aſſuming the government after this manner, looked like a ſtep to kingſhip, which they repreſented as the great anti-chriſt, which hindered Chriſt's being ſet on his throne. To theſe men he would ſay with tears in his eyes, "That he would rather have taken a ſhepherd's ſtaff than the protectorſhip; ſince nothing was more contrary to his genius, than a ſhew of greatneſs; but he ſaw it was neceſſary at that time to keep the nation from falling into great confuſion, and from being open to the common enemy; and therefore he only ſtept in between

between the living and the dead, in that interval, till God ſhould direct them on what bottom they ought to ſettle; and then he would ſurrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the ſorrow with which he was affected, while under that ſhew of dignity." He would alſo carry himſelf with great familiarity towards theſe men, and enter into the terms of their old equality, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered by him, that he might ſee how little he cared for thoſe diſtances, which for form ſake he was forced to keep up with others; and their diſcourſe commonly ended in a long prayer.

Thus, with much ado, he pretty well managed the enthuſiaſts of the commonwealth party. As to the other republicans, many of whom were inclined to deiſm, he called them *The Heathens*, and acknowledged he could not ſo eaſily work upon them. He had chaplains of all ſorts, and became at length more gentle to the epiſcopal party, who had their meetings in ſeveral places about *London*, without being moleſted by him. In the end, even the *Roman* catholicks courted him; and he with wonderful art carried things farther with all parties than could be imagined, conſidering the great difficulties he had to encounter with: For, that he might the better manage the ſeveral factions he ſtood moſt in awe of, he made choice of the moſt active and leading men into his council, by whoſe influence he had the guiding of all the reſt of each party.

But notwithſtanding this refined management, and the great influence he had over the nation in general, there were ſeveral plots and conſpiracies carrying on againſt him during his protectorſhip. The firſt deſign that was diſcovered, at the head of which were mr. *Fox*, mr. *Gerard*, and mr. *Vowel*, was to murder him in his way to *Hampton-Court*, to ſeize the guards, the *Tower*, and the magazines, and then to proclaim the king. For this *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, and *Vowel* hanged at *Charing-Croſs*;

Croſs; but *Fox*, by making an open confeſſion, obtained his pardon.

In the ſame year 1654, a deſign was formed for a general riſing of the royaliſts, in divers parts of the kingdom: But the private intelligence which the protector had of it, on which ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and many arms ſeized, prevented the fury of the intended blow. Something however was attempted in the north, but to no effect; the revolters diſperſing before any forces arrived againſt them, and leaving all their arms. The moſt obſtinate ſtruggle was in the weſt, at the time of *Salisbury* aſſizes, where the conſpirators ſeized the two judges, and took away their commiſſions; but this was ſoon over, without the help of the army. Colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Grove*, and a few others were executed for it at *Exeter*; and ſome of the common people concerned were tranſported to the *Weſt Indies*. This plot, which was deſigned to ruin the protector, ſerved but to advance his credit, and confirm his authority. It cleared him of the reproach of inventing plots himſelf, as a pretence to keep up the army, and gave him a good colour of excuſe for the order which ſoon followed, by advice of his council, "That all who had borne arms for the king, and declared themſelves of his party, ſhould be decimated, or pay a tenth part of their eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces, as their ſeditious practices obliged him to keep up." This was accompany'd with a declaration, that the charge ſhould be laid upon thoſe who had occaſioned it, and not upon the party who had already been ſo much ſufferers.

The laſt ſtruggle of the royal party was about a year before the protector's death. There was not only to be an inſurrection in *England*, but ſeveral regiments in *Flanders*, commanded by *Engliſhmen*, who were then aſſiſting the *Spaniards* againſt the *French* and *Cromwell*, were to have been ſuddenly tranſported over. And to promote the riſing at home,

home, a very bold paper was induſtriouſly diſperſed, entitled, *Killing no Murder*; the deſign of which was to get the protector aſſaſſinated. It was written by colonel *Titus*, under the borrowed name of *William Allen*. But ſo good was the intelligence which his highneſs kept up, that he ſeized ſeveral of the conſpirators before they could get together, and publiſhed a proclamation for apprehending of others. This was followed by addreſſes from the city of *London* to the army, which greatly intimidated all that had engaged for the king; and ſo upon the execution of dr. *Hewet*, ſir *Henry Slingsby*, and a few of meaner rank, the whole affair blew over.

This attempt, however, was thought the more formidable, becauſe another conſpiracy was at the ſame time on foot, among the fifth-monarchy men. Major-general *Harriſon* was very deep in this affair, and ſeveral conſultations had been held about it, at a *Houſe* in *Shoreditch*. But their proceedings were all known thro' the means of ſecretary *Thurloe*, and the chiefs of their party ſeized on the very night appointed for their rendezvous: Theſe were committed to priſon, and there kept a long time; but none of them were executed till after the reſtoration, for other crimes.

There had, before this, been two bold attempts by ſome of the republican party. The firſt was in 1654, when major *John Wildman*, who had been expelled the houſe of commons by the protector, was ſeized with a paper dictated by him, entitled, *The Declaration of the free and well-affected People of* England, *now in Arms againſt the Tyrant* Oliver Cromwell, *Eſq*; But this man, contrary to the expectation of all his friends, was after a ſhort impriſonment ſet at liberty. The other was in 1656, when *Miles Syndercomb*, a leveller, that had been caſhiered combined with two of the protector's life-guards, to aſſaſſinate him near *Brentford*. *Syndercomb*, being betray'd by the other, ſtoutly denied the fact, but was condemn'd by lord chief juſtice *Glynn*. He died

before

before the day appointed for his execution, and was buried on *Tower-Hill*, where a ſtake was drove thro' his body.

We have not many inſtances in hiſtory, if any at all, of a perſon who roſe among the people to the higheſt authority, that did not ſtain his adminiſtration with more blood, in a judiciary way, than our protector. Let us only compare his executions with thoſe of the ſecond triumvirate at *Rome*, when all the nobleſt patriots of that once flouriſhing commonwealth, were ſacrificed to the ſuſpicions of *Mark Anthony* and young *Octavius*. Yet the latter of theſe, thro' an exceſs of good fortune, became the delight of his people, the patron and theme of all the learned and ingenious, and the envy of ſucceeding princes. What leſs might have been expected of *Cromwell*, had he lived to get over the remains of prejudice, to put the glorious ſchemes he had formed in execution, and to ſhew himſelf what he really ſeems to have been, a true friend to liberty, and a lover of mankind in general?

In order to make his government ſecure, at the time when the royaliſts were plotting his deſtruction, *Cromwell* inſtituted a new order of deputies, under the name of major-generals, who were in the nature of perfects, or governors of provinces: They were to have the inſpection of inferior magiſtrates in every county, to commit ſuſpected perſons into cuſtody, and to put in execution many other directions; there was no appeal from them, but to the protector himſelf. This office did not continue long; for being inveſted with great power, the major-generals carried it in ſuch a very high and arbitrary manner, that they were ſuppreſſed by the parliament, at the motion of mr. *Cleypole*, the protector's ſon-in-law.

It was indeed hardly poſſible for any governor, in ſuch a precarious ſituation, to ſhew more regard than *Cromwell* did for the rights and properties of private men. He ſupplied the benches at *Weſtminſter* with the ableſt of lawyers, whom he had invited to the

the publick ſervice. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Nudigate*, *Windham*, and other gentlemen of great integrity and learning, were made ſerjeants at law, and mr. *Matthew Hale*, afterwards the famous ſir *Matthew*, was advanced to be a juſtice of the *Common Pleas*. Mr. *John Thurloe*, who had been ſecretary to the chief juſtice *St. John*, was raiſed to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, of which he acquitted himſelf with indefatigable diligence. *Milton*, the great *Milton*, was latin ſecretary; a man that would have done honour to the higheſt monarch, to the moſt polite and learned court, in the beſt of ages. In a word, the fleet and army were well paid; the city of *London* had the power of its own militia, under their old major-general *Skippon*; the common people were eaſed of ſome of their taxes; nor can we better ſum up the character of the civil government at this time than in the following extract, which is moſtly taken from *Echard*, a moſt virulent enemy of the protector and his friends.

"*Cromwell*, tho' he proceeded in an arbitrary manner againſt thoſe who conteſted his authority, yet in all other caſes, where the life of his juriſdiction was not concerned, he ſeemed to have a great reverence for the law, and the conſtitution, rarely interpoſing between party and party; and to do him juſtice, there appeared in his government many things that were truly great and praiſe-worthy. Juſtice, as well diſtributive as commutative, was by him reſtored almoſt to its antient grace and ſplendor; the judges executed their office without covetouſneſs, according to law and equity, and the laws, except ſome few, where himſelf was immediately concerned, being permitted to have their full force upon all, without impediment or delay. Men's manners, at leaſt outwardly, became likewiſe reformed, either by removing the incentives to luxury, or by means of the antient laws now revived, and put in execution. There was a ſtrict diſcipline kept in his court, where drunkenneſs, whoredom, and extortion, were

either baniſhed, or ſeverely rebuked. Trade began again to flouriſh and proſper, and moſt things put on a happy and promiſing aſpect. The protector alſo ſhewed a great regard to the advancement of learning, and was a great encourager of it. The univerſity of *Oxford*, in particular, acknowledged his highneſs's reſpect to them, in continuing their chancellar, and beſtowing on the publick library there twenty-four *Greek* manuſcripts, and munificently allowing an hundred pounds a year to a divinity reader: He alſo ordered a ſcheme to be drawn for founding and endowing a college at *Durham*, for the convenience of the northern ſtudents. Towards all who complied with his pleaſure, and courted his protection, he manifeſted great civility, generoſity, and bounty. No man affected to ſeem more tender of the clergy than himſelf, tho' he would not liſt himſelf in any particular ſect, ſaying, "It was his only wiſh and deſire, to ſee the church in peace, and that all would gather into one ſheepfold, under one ſhepherd, Jeſus Chriſt, and mutually love one another. Tho' the publick uſe of the common-prayer was denied to the epiſcopal party, yet he allow'd the uſe of their rites in private houſes; and milder courſes were taken than under the tyranny of ſome others.

We are now to view the protector upon the very pinacle of fortune, where he behaved with all becoming dignity, as he had done in every other ſituation. It has been remarked of him, that tho' his great abilities never appeared till they were called in action, yet they were always found ſuperior to the preſent occaſion; ſo that whatever character he aſſumed, he filled it to the utmoſt, or even ſurpaſſed our common ideas of grandeur. Having raiſed himſelf to the ſovereign dignity, he carried it higher, both in peace and war, than any *Engliſh* monarch had done before him. As the titles of dictator and imperator at *Rome*, which were firſt invented with an intent to ward off the odium attending that of king,

king, were rendered more illuſtrious by the great men who bore them, than that of king had ever been; ſo that the word protector, which was uſed originally only for the guardian of a monarch under age, when it was annex'd to the name of *Cromwell*, tho' for the ſame reaſon that gave riſe to dictator and imperator, it ſignified ſomething more in all the courts of *Europe*, than either king, emperor, or any other title then in being. In order to make good this aſſertion, I ſhall conſider in a few words ſome of thoſe acts of ſovereignty, which he exerciſed towards foreign princes and ſtates.

As I have hitherto, in this eſſay, ſo far as the ſubjects would permit, thrown together facts of the ſame or a like nature; that I may not here deviate from this method, I ſhall firſt take a curſory view of the wars in which he was engaged, thoſe in particular againſt *Holland* and *Spain*; then conſider him as improving the arts of peace, ſo as to make himſelf honoured, courted, and even dreaded by his allies. In both we ſhall meet with ſeveral inſtances of his ſurprizing policy, his true regard for the intereſt of his country, and his indefatigable induſtry in promoting and executing his deſigns.

In the year 1652, a war broke out between the two republicks of *England* and *Holland*, which produced the moſt terrible ſea fights that had ever been known, ſome of them laſting for three days ſucceſſively. The brave admiral *Blake*, with *Pen*, *Dean*, *Monk*, and *Ayſcough*, on one ſide, were againſt the famous *De Ruyter*, *Van Tromp*, *De Wit*, and other gallant *Dutch* commanders, on the other. The quarrel began upon the *Engliſh* demanding the tenth herring of the *Dutch* fiſhermen on our coaſt, in acknowledgment of the ſovereignty of the ſeas. In the ſeveral engagements of the firſt year, the *Engliſh* had ſo much the better, that about the beginning of 1653, the ſtates ſent over letters to the *Engliſh* parliament for putting an end to the war, offering to pay them a large ſum, beſides acknowledging their

their ſovereignty of the ſeas. Tho' *Cromwell* had not yet aſſumed the ſupreme power, yet he had it ſo far in effect, that particular application was made to him in this affair. The negociation, however, did not ſucceed at preſent.

But upon *Cromwell*'s turning out the long parliament, their high mightineſſes did not doubt but they ſhould make an advantage of their confuſion, which they thought muſt ſucceed. They no longer applied for peace, but ſent out a fleet with all imaginable diligence. *Cromwell*, for his part, was not behind-hand with them in his preparations, but gave them ſuch a reception, by his admirals, that they did not expect; ſo that after a long and bloody engagement, in which the *Engliſh* loſt little beſides their admiral *Dean*, the *Dutch* were obliged to ſhelter themſelves behind the ſands between *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, to prevent the deſtruction of their whole fleet. This made the ſtates ſue again for peace, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner; to which *Cromwell* was not averſe, but would allow of no ceſſation till it was actually concluded. Both parties therefore got ready again for an engagement, the *Dutch* having no leſs than one hundred and twenty-five ſail.

They came forth with great confidence of ſucceſs, but ſtill found the *Engliſh* an over-match; for after a fight of two days, in which *Van Tromp* was killed, and about thirty of their ſhips fired or ſunk, they made all the ſail they could towards the *Texel*. This victory, tho' it coſt the *Engliſh* dear, was ſo acceptable to *Cromwell* and his parliament, that a day of thankſgiving was appointed for it; and gold chains, with fine medals, repreſenting a ſea fight, were given to the admirals for their good ſervices. On the other hand it put the *Hollanders* into the utmoſt confuſion, and occaſioned ſome dangerous inſurrections of the common people. The ſtates applied themſelves to *Cromwell*'s parliament and council; who would grant them no other terms, than the taking a leaſe, and paying an annual rent for the liberty of fiſhing in the *Engliſh* ſeas.

But

But this parliament and council having ſurrendered up their powers to the lord protector, they made a freſh application to him alone; who at laſt, when he ſaw no greater advantages could be expected, granted them a peace upon the following terms: 1. That they ſhould not permit any of the king's party to reſide within their dominions. 2. That they ſhould never ſuffer the prince of *Orange* to be ſtadtholder, general, or admiral. 3. That they ſhould reſtore the iſland of *Polerone*, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which they had taken from the *Engliſh* in the reign of king *James* the firſt. 4. That they ſhould pay 300,000 l. formerly exerciſed on the *Engliſh* at *Amboyna*. 5. That they ſhould never diſpute the rights of the *Engliſh* flag. Glorious conditions for the protector! and ſuch as none of our monarchs could procure before him, tho' the terms of the third and fourth articles had been often conteſted.

The great difficulty the protector met with, in relation to foreign affairs, was, which ſide to chuſe in the war between *France* and *Spain*. Great application was made to him from both ſides. *Spain*, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, ordered their ambaſſador *de Cardenas*, a great and able man, to compliment him, and to engage, that in caſe he would join with him, they would pay him one hundred thouſand crowns per month, and two hundred thouſand crowns by way of advance, and not make peace till *Calais* was again reſtored to the *Engliſh*, which had now been loſt near an hundred years. The prince of *Conté* alſo, who was then in hoſtility with *France*, and ſupported by *Spain*, offered to turn proteſtant, and, upon *Cromwell*'s aſſiſting him to make a deſcent in *Guinne*, where he doubted not but the proteſtants would join him, and enable him ſo to diſtreſs *France*, as to obtain for themſelves, and for *England*, what conditions the protector pleaſed to dictate. But that prince's pretenſions, on farther enquiry, were found to be ill grounded and vain. *Mazarine*, on the other hand, endeavoured to outbid *Spain*, by offering to aſſiſt him

him to take *Dunkirk*, then in the *Spaniards* hands, and a place of much more importance than *Calais*; and at the ſame time inſinuated, that in caſe he joined with *Spain*, an army of *Huguenots*, headed by the king or his brother, ſhould make a deſcent on *England*; which, at that time, might be of dangerous conſequence to *Cromwell*, conſidering how many enemies he had at home.

This, the biſhop aſſures us, was the thing that determined him to join with the *French*; and in conſequence of the treaty, which was concluded ſoon after, the king and the duke were diſmiſſed the kingdom of *France* with many excuſes, ſome money, and abundance of promiſes. The prelate mentions another thing, which, he ſays, had great weight with the protector, while he was balancing in his mind about this alliance. One *Gage*, formerly a prieſt, coming over from the *Weſt Indies*, informed him how weak and wealthy the *Spaniards* were there; which made him conclude, that it would be both a great and an eaſy conqueſt to ſeize their dominions. And this he thought would ſupply him with ſuch a treaſure as would thoroughly eſtabliſh his government.

It has been a queſtion much diſputed, whether *Cromwell*, in joining with *France* againſt *Spain*, did really act conſiſtently with the true intereſt of his country? Moſt people have maintained the negative; but I think with very little reaſon. The condition of *France*, at that time, was far different from what we have ſeen it in our days. The king was a minor, and the royal family divided among themſelves, which had reduced the conſtitution to a languiſhing condition; whereas the houſe of *Auſtria* was then united and powerful; and the king of *Spain* in particular was poſſeſſed of the *Netherlands*, juſt in our neighbourhood, which rendered him formidable, and made it the intereſt of *England* to ſupport *France* againſt him. *Cromwell* then, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, might have, and I believe had, more general and national views in this alliance, than have hitherto been aſcrib'd to him. But

But to put this matter beyond all diſpute, and to ſhew that the *Spaniards* before *Cromwell*'s time were too much like what we have found them ſince, and made it next to impoſſible for a man of his ſpirit not to reſent their inſults and depredations on his countrymen, we need only to read the manifeſto penned in *Latin* by the immortal *Milton*, and publiſhed by the protector, while his fleet was in *America*, to ſhew the juſtice of the cauſe of this commonwealth againſt the *Spaniards*. I ſhall mention a few paſſages of it, in order to recommend the peruſal of the whole, a tranſlation of which was lately printed.

After ſetting forth the ſtate of affairs for many years between the two kingdoms, and ſhewing how much the two late kings, *James* and *Charles* I. had ſuffered themſelves and their ſubjects to be inſulted by the *Spaniards*, it proceeds: "But as to the diſputes that have ariſen in the *Weſt Indies*, tho' we, both in the continent itſelf, and in the iſlands, have plantations as well as they, and have as good, nay, a better right to poſſeſs them, than the *Spaniards* to poſſeſs theirs; and tho' we have a right to trade in thoſe ſeas, equally good with theirs; yet, without any reaſon, or any damage ſuſtained, and that when there was not the leaſt diſpute about commerce, they have been continually invading our colonies in a hoſtile way, killing our men, taking our ſhips, robbing us of our goods, laying waſte our houſes and fields, impriſoning and enſlaving our people; this they have been doing all along till the preſent times, wherein we have of late engaged in an expedition againſt them. For which reaſon, contrary to what uſed to be done formerly in the like caſe, they have detained our ſhips and merchants, and confiſcated their goods every where thro' the *Spaniſh* dominions; ſo that whether we turn our eyes to *America* or *Europe*, they alone are undoubtedly to be conſidered as the authors of the war."

It then ſets forth the barbarous treatment of ſeveral

ral of our merchants and ſailors, giving a long liſt of particular inſtances, and goes on thus: "By theſe, and many more examples of the ſame kind, too long to be reckoned up, 'tis very evident, that the king of *Spain* and his ſubjects think they are no way bound, by any condition of peace to be performed to us on their part, in theſe places; ſince they have habitually exerciſed all ſorts of hoſtilities againſt us; nay, have even done ſuch things as are more unreaſonable and more grievous than open acts of hoſtility; and ſince that cruelty with which they uſually treat the *Engliſh* in *America*, is ſo contrary to the articles of peace, that it does not ſo much as ſeem ſuitable to the laws of the moſt bloody war.

But the king of *Spain* ſeems to be convinced, that the ſacred bonds of friendſhip have been firſt broke on his ſide; which thing is ſo clear and manifeſt, that our adverſaries in the controverſy are aſhamed to deny the fact, and chuſe rather to diſpute with us concerning the right of poſſeſſion.—They pretend to have a double title, one founded upon the pope's gift, and another upon their having firſt diſcovered thoſe places. As to the firſt, we know the pope has always been very liberal in his gifts of kingdoms and countries; but in the mean time we cannot but think, that in ſo doing, he acts in a very different manner from him, whoſe vicar he profeſſes himſelf, who would not ſo much as allow himſelf to be appointed a judge in the dividing of inheritances.—But we deny his being veſted with any ſuch authority, nor do we think there is any nation ſo void of underſtanding, as to think that ſuch extraordinary power is lodged in him; or that the *Spaniards* does believe this, or acquieſce in it, if he ſhould require them to yield up as he has beſtowed.——

Nor is the other title of any greater weight; as if the *Spaniards*, in conſequence of their having firſt diſcovered ſome few parts of *America*, and given names to ſome iſlands, rivers, and promontories, had for this reaſon lawfully acquired the government and domi-

dominion of that new world. But ſuch an imaginary title, founded on ſuch a ſilly pretence, without being in poſſeſſion, cannot poſſibly create any true and lawful right. The beſt right of poſſeſſion in *America*, is that which is founded on one's having planted colonies there, and ſettled in ſuch places as had either no inhabitants, or by the conſent of the inhabitants, if there were any; or at leaſt in ſome of the wild and uncultivated parts of the country, which they were not numerous enough to repleniſh and improve.

If this be true, as the *Spaniards* will be found to hold their poſſeſſions there very unjuſtly, having obtained all of them againſt the will of the inhabitants, and as it were, plucked them out of their very bowels; having laid the foundation of their empire in that place in the blood of the poor natives, and rendered ſeveral large iſlands and countries, that were in a tolerable caſe when they found them, ſo many barren deſarts, and rooted out all the inhabitants there; ſo the *Engliſh* hold their poſſeſſions there by the beſt right imaginable, eſpecially thoſe iſlands where the *Spaniards* have fallen upon their colonies, and quite demoliſhed them; which iſlands had no other inhabitants at all, or if they had, they were all ſlain by the *Spaniards*, who had likewiſe deſerted theſe places and left them without any to improve or cultivate them.—Altho' granting we had beat the *Spaniards* out of thoſe places where we have planted our colonies, out of which they had firſt expell'd the inhabitants, we ſhould have poſſeſs'd them with better right, as the avengers of the murder of that people, and of the injuries ſuſtained by them, than the *Spaniards*, their oppreſſors and murderers.—

All theſe things being conſidered, we hope the time will come, when all, but eſpecially true *Engliſhmen*, will lay aſide their private animoſities among themſelves, and renounce their own proper advantages, rather than thro' an exceſſive deſire of that

ſmall profit to be made by trading with *Spain*, which cannot be obtained but upon ſuch conditions as are diſhonourable, and in ſome ſort unlawful; and may likewiſe be got ſome other way; to expoſe, as they now do, the ſouls of many young traders, by thoſe terms upon which they now live and trade there; and ſuffer the lives and fortunes of many chriſtian brethren in *America*, and, in fine, the honour of this whole nation, to be expoſed."

Having thus declared the reaſons of his proceedings, the protector, in order to make the beſt of *Gage*'s information, fitted out a fleet, with a ſufficient force, as he thought, to ſeize *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*. When the time of ſetting out this fleet came on, all men wonder'd whither it was deſigned. Some thought it was to rob the church of *Loretto*; and this apprehenſion occaſioned a fortification to be drawn round it; others talk'd of *Rome* itſelf; for the protector's preachers often gave out, "That if it were not for the diviſions at home, he would go and ranſack *Babylon*." Others thought the deſign was againſt *Cadiz*, tho' he had not yet broke with *Spain*. The *French* knew nothing of the ſecret, and the protector, not having finiſhed his alliance with them, was not obliged to impart to them the reaſon of his preparations. All he ſaid about it was this, "That he ſent out the fleet to guard the ſeas, and reſtore *England* to its dominion on that element."

This fleet, conſiſting of about thirty men of war, under the command of vice-admiral *Penn*, with about four thouſand land ſoldiers to be commanded by *Venables*, ſet ſail directly for *Barbadoes*, where the two commanders were ordered to break open their commiſſions. Being ſafely arrived there, and new men taken in to encreaſe the land army, they ſailed to the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. *Venables* landed his men in an ill place, different from the orders he had received from the protector, and marched them thro' ſuch thick woods and uneaſy paſſages, that the *Spaniards*,

niards, with a very unequal number, beat them back, and they ſoon were forced to re-embark. To make ſome amends for this miſcarriage, they made another deſcent on the iſland of *Jamaica*, and obtained an eaſy poſſeſſion of it; which iſland has ever ſince remained in the hands of the *Engliſh*; where leaving a good body of foot to ſecure it, they ſailed back to *England*. The protector was never ſo much diſturbed as at this diſaſter at *Hiſpaniola*; ſo that *Penn* and *Venables* were no ſooner come on ſhore, but he committed them both to the *Tower*, and could never be prevailed on to truſt either of them again.

About the time that *Penn* and *Venables* ſet out on this expedition, admiral *Blake* ſailed with another fleet into the *Mediterranean*, to ſcour thoſe ſeas of the *Turkiſh* pirates; and not meeting with any of them, he bravely reſolved to ſeek them out in their ports. He came firſt before *Algiers*, and ſending to the Dey, demanded that all the *Engliſh* ſhips might be reſtored, and all the *Engliſh* ſlaves releaſed. The Dey hereupon ſent a preſent to *Blake*, and gave him to underſtand, "That the ſhips and captives already taken belong'd to private men, therefore not ſo much in his power; but yet they ſhould be reſtored at a moderate ranſom; and if the admiral thought proper, they would conclude a peace, and for the future offer no acts of violence to any of the *Engliſh* ſhips and natives."

A peace being accordingly concluded, *Blake* ſailed from thence to *Tunis*, where, having made the ſame demand as at *Algiers*, inſtead of the like ſubmiſſion, he received this reſolute anſwer, "That there were their caſtles of *Goletta*, and their ſhips and caſtles of *Porto-Ferino*; he might do his worſt, for he ſhould not think to frighten them with the ſight of his fleet." Provoked at this anſwer, *Blake* reſolved to deſtroy their ſhips in *Porto-Ferino*. Accordingly he ordered his captains to man their long-boats with ſtout ſeamen, and ſent them into the harbour to fire thoſe ſhips, whilſt the admiral, with all his fleet, thundered

thundered moſt furiouſly againſt their caſtles. The ſeamen ſo bravely performed their parts, that all the *Turkiſh* ſhips of war were ſoon reduced to aſhes, with the loſs of only twenty-five men, and forty-eight wounded, on the *Engliſh* ſide. Theſe were actions of the higheſt conduct and courage, which made the *Engliſh* name very formidable in thoſe ſeas.

There was another reaſon of *Blake*'s ſailing into the *Mediterranean*, which was, to demand ſatisfaction of all princes and ſtates, that had moleſted the *Engliſh* in the time of confuſion at home. Accordingly, among other places, he ſailed to *Leghorn*, and diſpatched his ſecretary to demand of the great duke of *Tuſcany* 60,000 l. for damages ſuſtained by the *Engliſh* in his dutchy; prince *Rupert* having taken and ſold as many *Engliſh* ſhips as amounted to that value, to the great duke's ſubjects. The duke was willing to pay part of that ſum, and deſired time to conſult the pope about the reſt. *Blake* ſaid, the pope had nothing to do with it, and he would have the whole ſum; which was paid him. The duke pretended that the pope ought to pay part of the damage, ſome of the ſhips having been ſold to his ſubjects; accordingly the next ſucceeding pope repaid 20,000 piſtoles. Admiral *Blake* ſent home ſixteen ſhips laden with the effects he had received from ſeveral ſtates, for ſatisfaction and damages; and they were ordered to ſail up the *Thames* together, for a pleaſing ſight to the people.

The king of *Spain*, provoked at the late attempt upon the *Weſt Indies*, declared war againſt *England*; and the protector diſpatched orders to admiral *Blake* to watch the return of the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet, and make what deſtruction he could upon the coaſts of *Spain*; and thought fit now to finiſh his alliance with *France*, ſending *Lockhart* his ambaſſador thither for that end. His highneſs undertook to ſend over an army of ſix thouſand foot; and when the forts of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke* ſhould be taken, they were to be put into his hands.

Admiral

Admiral *Blake*, and *Montague* afterwards earl of *Sandwich*, having blocked up the port of *Cadiz* for ſome weeks, without being able to bring the *Spaniards* to a fight, were obliged to ſail to *Wyers Bay* in *Portugal*, to take in ſupplies: They left behind them captain *Stayner*, with only ſeven ſhips; who, while the commanders were retired, perceived the *Spaniſh* plate-fleet making directly to *Cadiz*. Notwithſtanding the ſmall force he had with him, *Stayner* reſolved to fall on the *Spaniards*, which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a few hours the whole fleet was ſpoiled. One ſhip was ſunk, another burnt, in which the viceroy of *Mexico*, and his lady, periſhed in the flames, two were forced on ground, one got off, and two remained in the conqueror's hands; which being brought to *Portſmouth*, the bullion, to the value of two millions, was there landed, and conveyed in carts to *London*, as a trophy of this great victory.

Blake being returned to *Cadiz*, and having there rode out the winter of 1657, he received intelligence, that another *Spaniſh* plate-fleet, much richer than the former, was coming home; but, the fear of the *Engliſh* fleet, had put into the bay of *Santa-Cruz* in the *Canaries*. Upon this *Blake* weighed anchor the 13th of *April*, and by the 20th ſtood off the ſaid bay; where he accordingly found the galleons arrived, to the number of ſixteen men of war. The bay was ſecured by a ſtrong caſtle well furniſhed with ordnance, beſides ſeven forts more in ſeveral parts of it, mounted with ſix, four, and three guns apiece, and united by a line of communication from one fort to another, which was mann'd with muſqueteers. Don *Diego Diagues*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, cauſed all his ſmaller ſhips to moor cloſe to the ſhore, covered by the caſtles and forts, and poſted the ſix large galleons farther off at anchor, with their formidable broadſides to the ſea. A *Dutch* merchantman was at this time in the bay, the maſter whereof perceiving the *Engliſh* were ready to enter, deſired Don *Diego*'s leave to depart; "For, ſaid he, I am very

very ſure *Blake* will preſently be among us." To which the Don reſolutely anſwered, "Get you gone if you will, and let *Blake* come if he dares."

Blake having called a council of war, and finding it impracticable to carry off the galleons, reſolved to burn them all; to which end he ordered captain *Stayner*, with a ſquadron, to ſtand into the very bay; who by eight the next morning fell furiouſly on the *Spaniards*, without the leaſt regard to their forts, and fought them almoſt an hour. The admiral ſeconding him, poſted ſome of the larger ſhips to cannonade the caſtle and forts, which play'd their parts ſo well, that the enemy was forced to leave them. *Blake*, for the ſpace of four hours, engaged the galleons, which made a brave reſiſtance, but was at laſt abandon'd by the enemy; as were likewiſe the ſmaller veſſels, which lay under the forts, which were burnt by *Stayner*, whilſt *Blake* did the ſame by the large galleons; ſo that this whole plate fleet of ineſtimable value, was utterly deſtroyed, without the loſs of one *Engliſh* ſhip, and with no more than forty-eight men killed, and an hundred and twenty wounded. The news of this brave and unparallel'd action being brought to *England*, the parliament ordered a day of thankſgiving for this great ſucceſs; and the protector, at their deſire, ſent the admiral a diamond ring of 500 l. value and knighted *Stayner* at his return to *England*.

Blake, after this noble exploit, ſailed back to *Spain*, whence, after having long kept all their ports in awe, he returned for *England*. But falling ſick of a fever, he died in the 59th year of his age, juſt as the fleet was entering into *Plymouth Sound*, where he paſſionately enquired for the land, but found his own element the more proper bed of honour. He had a publick funeral juſtly beſtowed upon him, and the honour of being interred in *Henry* the VIIth's chapel. The lord *Clarendon* ſays, "He was the firſt man that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt, that the naval ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was imagined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which

which had been long in practice, to keep his ſhips and his men out of danger, which had been held in former times a point of ability and circumſpection, as if the principal art requiſite in the captain of a ſhip, had been to be ſure to come home ſafe again. He was the firſt man who brought ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the firſt that infuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by making them ſee by experience, what great things they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them to fight in fire as well as upon water; and tho' he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the firſt that ſhewed the example of that kind of naval courage, and bold and reſolute atchievements." A very worthy ſervant this to ſuch a maſter as *Cromwell!*

Blake had a very great regard for the honour of his country, and the *Engliſh* dominion of the ſeas. One inſtance of his care to preſerve this honour, mentioned by biſhop *Burnet*, I cannot omit. He ſays, that *Blake* happening to be at *Malaga* with the fleet, before *Cromwell* made war with *Spain*, ſome of the ſeamen going aſhore, met the hoſt, as it was carrying about, and not only refuſed to pay any honour to it, but laughed at thoſe that did; whereupon one of the prieſts ſtirred up the people to reſent this affront; and ſo they fell upon them, and beat them ſeverely. The ſeamen returning to their ſhip, complained of the uſage they had met with, *Blake* immediately diſpatched a trumpeter to the viceroy, to demand the prieſt who had been the chief occaſion of it; to which the viceroy returned this anſwer, "That he had no authority over the prieſts, and ſo could not diſpoſe of him." But *Blake* ſent him word again, "That he would not enquire who had power to ſend the prieſt to him; but if he was not ſent within three hours, he would burn

burn their town." And ſo being unable to reſiſt, they ſent the prieſt to him; who juſtifying himſelf upon the rude behaviour of the ſeamen, *Blake* anſwered, "That if he had ſent a complaint to him of it, hewould have puniſhed them ſeverely, ſince he would not ſuffer his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of any place; but he took it ill, that he ſet on the *Spaniards* to do it; for he would have all the world know, that an *Engliſhman* was only to be puniſhed by an *Engliſhman*." And ſo he civilly uſed the prieſt, and diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied that he had him at his mercy. *Cromwell* was exceedingly pleaſed with this, and read the letters in council with great ſatisfaction, telling them, "he hoped he ſhould make the name of an *Engliſhman* as great as ever that of a *Roman* had been."

While I am ſpeaking of the protector's great care to aſſert and maintain the ſovereignty of the ſea, and the honour of the *Engliſh* nation, a paſſage occurs from a printed ſpeech made in the houſe of commons, by mr. *Poultney*, in a debate on the complaints of the *Weſt India* merchants, two ſeſſions before the preſent war againſt *Spain* was declared. It contains perhaps as remarkable a ſtory as is any where to be met with, and the reflections on it are equally honourable to *Cromwell*, and worthy of the gentleman that made them, who was neither afraid nor aſhamed to introduce the conduct of one we call an uſurper, as a pattern to legal kings, and modern miniſters.

"We have been negotiating and treating with *Spain* for theſe twenty years, ſays this great patriot, about nothing that I know of, unleſs it was about reparation and ſecurity for our merchants; and yet, during the whole time, they have been plundering and abuſing our merchants, almoſt without intermiſſion. If a nation's being ſubject to daily inſults and injuries is not a circumſtance, that ought to make it peremptory in its demands, I am ſure no circumſtance

ſtance can. This has been our caſe for many years, and will be our caſe, till *Spain* be made to acknowledge, in the moſt expreſs and particular terms, every one of thoſe rights they now pretend to diſpute. Ought not this to make us peremptory in our demands? Ought not it to have made us peremptory long ago? If we had peremptorily inſiſted upon full ſatisfaction and reparation, for the very firſt injury that was offered us, I may venture to affirm, we ſhould never have been expoſed to a ſecond. Nay, if we conſider that our inſults and injuries were inflicted without any ceremony, we ought to have uſed as little ceremony in the revenging them; and to have taken ſatisfaction, without being at any great pains to demand it. But I hope that is not yet too late.

This was what *Oliver Cromwell* did in a like caſe, that happened during his government, and in a caſe where a more powerful nation was concerned than ever *Spain* could pretend to be. In the hiſtories of his time we are told, that an *Engliſh* merchant ſhip was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into *St. Maloes*, and there confiſcated upon ſome groundleſs pretence. As ſoon as the maſter of the ſhip, who was an honeſt quaker, got home, he preſented a petition to the protector in council, ſetting forth his caſe, and praying for redreſs. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council he would take that affair upon himſelf, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him ſtrictly as to all the circumſtances of his caſe, and finding by his anſwers that he was a plain honeſt man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he aſked him, If he would go to *Paris* with a letter? The man anſwered, he would. Well then, ſays the protector, prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning. Next morning he gave him a letter to cardinal *Mazarine*, and told him he muſt ſtay but three days for an anſwer. The anſwer I mean, ſays he, is the full value of what

you might have made of your ſhip and cargoe; and tell the cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have expreſs orders from me to return home. The honeſt blunt quaker, we may ſuppoſe, followed his inſtructions exactly; but the cardinal, according to the manner of miniſters, when they are any way preſſed, began to ſhuffle; therefore the quaker returned, as he was bid. As ſoon as the protector ſaw him, he aſked, "Well, friend, have you got your money?" Upon the man's anſwering he had not, the protector told him, "Then leave your direction with my ſecretary, and you ſhall ſoon hear from me." Upon this occaſion, that great man did not ſtay to negotiate, or to explain, by long tedious memorials, the reaſonableneſs of his demand. No; tho' there was a *French* miniſter reſiding here, he did not ſo much as acquaint him with the ſtory, but immediately ſent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to ſeize every *French* ſhip they could meet with. Accordingly, they returned in a few days with two or three *French* prizes, which the protector ordered to be ſold, and out of the produce he paid the quaker what he demanded for the ſhip and cargoe. Then he ſent for the *French* miniſter, gave him an account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleaſed, ſhould be paid to him, to the end that he might deliver it to thoſe of his countrymen, who were the owners of the *French* ſhips that had been ſo taken and ſold.

This was *Oliver Cromwell*'s manner of negotiating, this was the method he took for obtaining reparation. And what was the conſequence? it produced no war between the two nations. No; it made the *French* government terribly afraid of giving him the leaſt offence; and while he lived, they took ſpecial care that no injury ſhould be done to any ſubjects of *Great Britain*. This ſhews, that *Oliver Cromwell* had a genius and a capacity for government; and however unjuſtly he acquired his power, it is certain

that

that this nation was as much reſpected abroad, and flouriſhed as much at home, under his government, as it ever did under any government: But when a nation has the misfortune to have a man ſet at the head of her affairs, who knows nothing of foreign, who knows nothing but the little detail of offices, and has neither capacity or knowledge beyond what can qualify him for being clerk in the treaſury, or ſome other publick office, it is then no wonder to ſee that nation deſpiſed and inſulted abroad, and diſſatisfied, mutinous, and ſeditious at home.

I wiſh thoſe who have the direction of our negotiations abroad, would aſſume, if poſſible, a little of the courage and ſpirit of *Oliver Cromwell*. He had as powerful a party to ſtruggle with at home, as ever any miniſter had; but he never allowed the danger he was in from that party, to deter him from vindicating, upon all occaſions, the honour and intereſt of his country abroad. He had too much good ſenſe to manage in ſuch a puſillanimous manner; for he knew that ſuch management would have encreaſed the party againſt him, and would have made them more daring, as well as more numerous. If our preſent negotiators, or thoſe who have the direction of our negotiations, take example by him, I am ſure they will not accept of any general acknowledgments or promiſes."

To proceed: As victory crown'd the protector's army by ſea, ſo his forces by land were not unſucceſsful. The ſix thouſand men which his highneſs was obliged by his treaty with *France* to provide, being tranſported under the command of ſir *John Reynolds*, and major-general *Morgan*, the *French* had no inclination to begin upon *Mardyke* or *Dunkirk*, which, when taken, were to be put in *Cromwell*'s hands; but marched to other places which they were to conquer for their own uſe. But his highneſs's ambaſſador *Lockhart* made ſuch repeated repreſentations to the cardinal, not without ſome menaces, "That his maſter knew where to find a more punctual

tual friend," that as ſoon as they had taken *Montmedy* and *St. Venant*, the army inveſted *Mardyke*. The *French* and *Engliſh* had not lain before this ſtrong place above four days, when it was reduced to a ſurrender upon compoſition, and delivered up wholly into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. But preſently after, the *French* being withdrawn into their winter quarters, the *Spaniards*, who were ſenſible of what great importance this place was to the preſerving of *Dunkirk*, detached a body of horſe and foot to retake it. Among theſe were two thouſand *Engliſh* and *Iriſh*, commanded by the duke of *York*; and they made two very furious ſtorms upon the fort; but were ſtoutly repulſed, and forced to fly, with the loſs of ſeveral brave commanders.

Marſhal *Turenne* commanded the army that took *Mardyke*; to whom cardinal *Mazarine* wrote thus, at *Lockhart*'s inſtance, before the ſiege: "Nothing can be of more fatal conſequence to *France*, than *Cromwell*'s friendſhip, and the breach of the union with him; which certainly will be broke, if ſome ſtrong town is not taken and put into his hands." This conqueſt was very pleaſing to *Cromwell*, who immediately ſent ten men of war to guard the port of *Mardyke*, and cruize on that coaſt. A foreign writer, ſpeaking of this matter ſays, "Nothing could flatter the ambition of *Cromwell* more than this acquiſition, knowing that he had thereby won immortal glory; he had, without the loſs of a man, accompliſhed a deſign, which the greateſt kings of *England* had often attempted in vain, at the expence of their people's blood and treaſure; he had re-eſtabliſhed the *Engliſh* on the continent, and put themſelves in a condition to make themſelves maſters of both ſides of the channel, which had been deſpaired of ſince the loſs of *Calais*.

Not long after the taking of *Mardyke*, an attempt was made upon *Oſtend*, but without ſucceſs; for ſome of the garriſon having contracted with *Mazarine* to deliver it up, it appeared that this was only a feint,

a feint, carried on with the privity of the governor, who defended himſelf bravely when the beſiegers appeared, killing and taking one thouſand five hundred *French* that were landed, and ſorely galling the *Engliſh* fleet from the forts. But this diſappointment had no very ill effect; for preſently after *Dunkirk* was inveſted by the *French*, aſſiſted by the ſix thouſand valiant *Engliſhmen*, under the inſpection of *Lockhart*, the protector's ambaſſador, but more immediately under the command of major-general *Morgan*. Whilſt they were carrying on their approaches towards the town, they had intelligence brought them, that the *Spaniſh* general Don *John* of *Auſtria*, with the prince of *Conde*, the prince *de Ligny*, and the dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, were advancing with thirty thouſand men to relieve the place. Hereupon the *French* king and cardinal were perſuaded to withdraw to *Calais*, and leave all to be determined by a council of war. In the firſt council, which was held without either *Lockhart* or *Morgan*, it was reſolved to raiſe the ſiege, if the enemy came on. But in the next, when thoſe two were preſent, *Morgan* vehemently oppoſed their reſolution, alledging, "what a diſhonour it would be to the crown of *France* to have ſummoned a place, and broke ground before it, and then raiſe the ſiege and run away;" and deſiring the council to conſider, that if they raiſed the ſiege, the alliance with *England* would be broken the ſame hour. Upon which it was reſolved, contrary to their former intention, to give battle to the enemy, if they came on, and to maintain the ſiege. And the enemy coming on, a deſperate fight enſued, in which the *Spaniards* were in a manner totally routed by the *Engliſh*, before the *French* came in. At the end of the purſuit, marſhal *Turenne*, with above one hundred officers, came up to the *Engliſh*, and embracing the officers, ſaid, "They never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives; and that they were ſo tranſported with the ſight of it, that they had not power to move, or do any thing."

The

The *Spaniſh* army being entirely vanquiſhed, the confederates renewed their attempts upon the town of *Dunkirk* with great vigour and induſtry; and the marquis *de Leda*, the governor, being mortally wounded, as he was ſallying out upon the beſiegers, the *Spaniards* within deſired a preſent capitulation; and which being granted, this important place was ſurrendered upon articles on the 25th of *June*, 1658, when it was immediately delivered up into the hands of the *Engliſh*, by the *French* king and cardinal in perſon, purſuant to the treaty between them and the lord protector.

Thus did *Cromwell*, in a very ſhort time, and with little expence either of men or money, render himſelf abſolute maſter of the *Britiſh* channel; but ſo contrary to his were the meaſures taken in the ſucceeding reign of king *Charles* II. that in the ſecond year of that licentious prince, one of whoſe chief ends in getting money was to oblige his miſtreſſes, *Dunkirk* was publickly ſold to the *French*; which tranſaction, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, very much impaired the king's credit abroad, and the damage we have ſuffered from it ſince, has made the bargain often reflected on with ſeverity at home. It was in fact this ſale, and the other ſteps taken in the ſame reign, that contributed more to the aggrandizing of the *French*, than any engagement that can be attributed to *Cromwell*. "It appeared, ſays another modern writer, when king *Charles* had ſold *Dunkirk*, which *Cromwell* kept as a ſecurity for *England*, and the *French* king had ſurprized many cities and provinces to a vaſt encreaſe of empire, that a treaty with *Spain* was more preferable for the preſervation of the balance of power. But was it poſſible for any ſuch thing as the ſale of *Dunkirk* to enter into ſuch a head as *Cromwell*'s? He would as ſoon have ſold *Portſmouth*. And had *Dunkirk* been ſtill kept in the hands of the *Engliſh*, *Cromwell*'s *French* treaty would never have been complain'd of."

Sir *William Temple* aſſures us farther, that cardinal *Mazarine*

Mazarine having ſurmounted his own dangers, and the difficulties incident to a minority, purſued the plan left him by his predeceſſor, and by the aſſiſtance of an immortal body of ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, made ſuch a progreſs in *Flanders*, that *Cromwell* perceived the balance was turned, and grown too heavy on the *French* ſide; whereupon he diſpatched a gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propoſe there a change of his treaty with *France*, into one with *Spain*, by which he would draw his forces over into their ſervice, and make them ten thouſand, upon condition, their firſt action ſhould be to beſiege *Calais*, and when taken, to put it into his hands. The perſon ſent upon this errand was paſt the *Pyrenees*, when he was overtaken with the news of *Cromwell*'s death. This was ſoon followed by a peace between the two crowns, called the peace of the *Pyrenees*." Thus we ſee, that with whomſoever the protector ſided, his deſign was to raiſe and ſtrengthen the *Engliſh*, and to keep the balance of power in his own hands.

Tho' the protector lived but a very ſhort time after the taking of *Dunkirk*, yet he received greater marks of honour and eſteem from the *French* court, than were ſhewn to any crown'd head in *Europe*. He ſent over the lord *Falconbridge*, his ſon-in-law, with a numerous and ſplendid retinue to *Calais*, where the king and cardinal then were, and received him as a ſovereign prince, the cardinal giving him his right hand in his apartment, which had never been done to the imperial ambaſſador, nor even to the pope's nuncio. And when his lordſhip took his leave, both the king and his miniſter loaded him with rich preſents, ſome of which were for the protector, and others for himſelf. The compliment was returned to *Cromwell* by a very ſolemn embaſſy from *France*, which ſurpaſſed moſt appearances of the ſame kind. But the protector's death put an end to the further effects of this alliance.

This wonderful man, from the very beginning of his adminiſtration, was complimented and courted by

by moſt of the powers around him, who acknowledged his ſovereignty, and gave him the title of highneſs. All nations contended, as it were, by their ambaſſadors, who ſhould render themſelves moſt acceptable to him. *Denmark* had the favour of being taken into the *Dutch* treaty, upon the good terms of making the ſtates reſponſible for 140,000 l. to repair the damage which the *Engliſh* had ſuffered from the *Danes*. About the ſame time, by the negotiation of his ambaſſador *Whitelock*, he made a firm alliance with the kingdom of *Sweden*. He forced *Portugal* to ſend an ambaſſador to beg peace, and to ſubmit to make ſatisfaction for the offence they had committed in receiving prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great ſum of money. Even *France* and *Spain*, in his earlieſt days, ſued him for an alliance, and ſent over their miniſters for that purpoſe, whom he received with all the ſtate and ſolemnity of a ſovereign prince. He exaggerated nothing therefore in his ſpeech to his ſecond parliament, which he made in favour of his own government.

The truth is, his name became formidable every where; his favourite alliance was with *Sweden*; for *Charles Guſtavus* and he lived in great friendſhip. The ſtates of *Holland* ſo dreaded him, that they took care to give him no manner of umbrage; inſomuch, that when the king or his brother came at any time to viſit their ſiſter, the princeſs of *Orange*, a deputation of the ſtates was immediately with them, to let them know they could have no ſhelter there. All *Italy* in like manner trembled at his name, and ſeemed to be under a panick fear, as long as he lived. His fleets ſcoured the *Mediterranean*, and the *Turks* durſt not offend him, but delivered up *Hyde*, the king's ambaſſador there, who was brought over and executed for aſſuming that character.

The juſtice done by him on *Don Pantaleon-ſa*, a very eminent perſon, and brother to the *Portugueze* ambaſſador, was what mightily raiſed the reputation of his power. This man had been guilty of a murder,

der, and taken ſanctuary in his brother's houſe, who inſiſted upon the privilege due to his character But *Cromwell* obliged him to deliver up the criminal, who being tried by a jury of half *Engliſh* and half foreigners, was condemned to die; and accordingly was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. And it is very remarkable, that on the day of this execution, the *Portugal* ambaſſador was obliged to ſign the articles of peace between the two nations; whereupon he immediately went out of town. And it is obſerved of this affair, to the honour of the protector, that whatever reaſon the houſe of *Auſtria* had to hate his memory, the emperor *Leopold*, near twenty years after *Cromwell*'s death, brought it as a precedent to juſtify his carrying off the prince of *Furſtemburg* at the treaty of *Cologne*, notwithſtanding his being a plenipotentiary for the elector of that name. And in the printed manifeſto publiſhed by the emperor on that occaſion, this piece of *Cromwell*'s juſtice is related at large.

Few princes, ſays *Wellwood*, ever bore their character higher upon all occaſions, than *Oliver Cromwell*, eſpecially in his treaties with crown'd heads. And it is a thing without example, that is mentioned by one of the beſt informed hiſtorians of the age, *Puffendorf*, in his life of the late elector of *Brandenburgh*; That in *Cromwell*'s league with *France* and *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* king to call himſelf king of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the title of protector of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*. And which is yet more ſurpriſing, and hardly to be believed, but for the authority of the author, the protector's name was put before the *French* king's, in his inſtrument of the treaty.

During his adminiſtration, there were two ſignal inſtances given him to ſhew his zeal in protecting the proteſtants, which advanced his character abroad. The duke of *Savoy* raiſed a new perſecution of the *Vaudois*, maſſacreing many, and driving the reſt from

their habitations. Whereupon *Cromwell* ſent to the *French* court, demanding of them to oblige that duke, whom he knew to be in their power, to put a ſtop to his unjuſt fury, or otherwiſe he muſt break with them. The cardinal objected to this as unreaſonable; he would do good offices, he ſaid, but could not anſwer for the effects. However, nothing would ſatisfy the protector, 'till they obliged the duke to reſtore all that he had taken from his proteſtant ſubjects, and to renew their former privileges. *Cromwell* wrote on this occaſion to the duke himſelf, and by miſtake omitted the title of royal highneſs on his letter; upon which the major part of the council of *Savoy* were for returning it unopened; but one of them repreſenting, that *Cromwell* would not paſs by ſuch an affront, but would certainly lay *Villa Franca* in aſhes, and ſet the *Swiſs* cantons upon *Savoy*, the letter was read, and with the cardinal's influence, had the deſired ſucceſs. The protector alſo raiſed money in *England* for the poor ſufferers, and ſent over an agent to ſettle all their affairs.

At another time there happened a tumult at *Niſmes*, wherein ſome diſorder had been committed by the *Huguenots*: They being apprehenſive of ſevere proceedings upon it, ſent one over, with great expedition and ſecrecy, to deſire *Cromwell*'s interceſſion and protection. This expreſs found ſo good a reception, that he the ſame evening diſpatched a letter to the cardinal, with one encloſed to the king; alſo inſtructions to his ambaſſador *Lockhart*, requiring him either to prevail for a total impunity of that miſdemeanor, or immediately to come away. At *Lockhart*'s application, the diſorder was overlook'd; and, tho' the *French* court complained of this way of proceeding, as a little too imperious, yet the neceſſity of their affairs made them comply. This *Lockhart*, a wiſe and gallant man, who was governor of *Dunkirk*, and ambaſſador at the ſame time, and in favour with the protector, told biſhop *Burnet*, "That when he was afterwards ſent ambaſſador by king *Charles*, he found

found he had nothing of that regard that was paid to him in *Cromwell*'s time."

There was yet a farther deſign, very advantageous to the proteſtant cauſe, wherewith *Cromwell* intended to have begun his kingſhip, had he taken it upon him; and that was, the inſtituting a council for the proteſtant religion, in oppoſition to the congregation *de propagandâ fide* at *Rome*. This body was to conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces. The ſecretaries were to have 500 l. a-piece yearly, to keep correſpondence every where. Ten thouſand pounds a year was to be a fund for ordinary emergencies; farther ſupplies were to be provided, as occaſions required; and *Chelſea College*, then an old ruinous building, was to be fitted up for their reception. This was a great deſign, and worthy of the man who had formed it.

The ſecret correſpondence he kept up, from his firſt appearance on the theatre of affairs, was what every one wondered at. When he was only deputy of *Ireland*, he ſtopped the lord *Broghill* in *London*, as he was going over to the king, to take out a commiſſion againſt the parliament, and ſo work'd on him that he went over in the parliament's ſervice, and continued faithful to *Cromwell* ever after. And when he was mounted to the ſummit of authority, he brought over a company of jews into *England*, and gave them toleration to build a ſynagogue, becauſe he knew, by reaſon of their negotiation of money in all countries, that they were excellently fitted for the purpoſe of bringing him intelligence. It was by the information of one of thoſe, who came to him in a poor beggarly habit, that he intercepted a large ſum of money, which the *Spaniards*, who were then at war with him, were ſending over in a *Dutch* ſhip, to pay their army in *Flanders*. He alſo prevailed on ſir *Richard Willis*, chancellor *Hyde*'s great confident, to let him know all that paſſed at king *Charles*'s court; pretending, that his aim in diſcovering the plots of the royaliſts, for whom he had

a great

a great tenderneſs, was only to diſconcert them, that none of them might ſuffer for their raſhneſs. This practice of ſir *Richard* was not diſcovered till after the protector's death, when he ſtill continued his correſpondence with *Thurloe*, whoſe under ſecretary, *Moreland*, detected him to the king.

There could not be any conſiderable perſon in *London*, of the royal party, but *Cromwell* knew of it. He at one time told lord *Broghill*, that there was a friend of his in town; and upon his aſking who, ſaid, my lord *Ormond*, mentioning the day when he arrived, and the place where he now was. *Broghill* had leave from the protector to go to *Ormond*, and inform him of all this, that he might make his eſcape; which was done accordingly.

In matters of the greateſt moment, the protector truſted none but his ſecretary *Thurloe*, and oftentimes not him. An inſtance of which *Thurloe* us'd to tell of himſelf, "That he was once commanded by *Cromwell* to go at a certain hour to *Gray*'s *Inn*, and at ſuch a place deliver a bill of 20,000 l. payable to the bearer at *Genoa*, to a man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a habit and poſture as he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking one word." Which accordingly *Thurloe* did; and never knew, to his dying day, either the perſon or that occaſion.

At another time the protector coming late at night to *Thurloe*'s office, and beginning to give him directions about ſomething of great importance and ſecrecy, he took notice that mr. *Moreland*, afterward ſir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the room, which he had not obſerv'd before; and fearing he might have over heard their diſcourſe, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his deſk, he drew a ponyard, which he always carried under his coat, and was going to diſpatch *Moreland* upon the ſpot, if *Thurloe* had not with great intreaties prevailed with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that *Moreland* had ſat up two nights together, and was now certainly faſt aſleep.

There was not the ſmalleſt accident that befel king

king *Charles* II. in his exile, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch, that having given leave to an *Engliſh* nobleman to travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee *Charles Stuart*; he aſked him, at his return, "If he had punctually obeyed his commands?" Which the other affirming he had; *Cromwell* reply'd, "It's true you did not ſee him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet in the dark, the candles being put out for that end." And withal told him all the particulars that had paſſed in converſation betwixt the king and him at their meeting.

That he had ſpies about king *Charles*, was not ſtrange; but his intelligence reached the moſt ſecret tranſactions of other princes, and when the matter was communicated, to but very few; of which we have a notable inſtance in the buſineſs of *Dunkirk*. There was an article, as we have obſerved, in the treaty between *France* and the protector, that if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhould immediately be delivered up to the *Engliſh*; and his ambaſſador *Lockhart* had orders to take poſſeſſion of it accordingly. When the *French* army, being joined by the *Engliſh* auxiliaries, was in its march to inveſt the town, *Cromwell* ſent one morning for the *French* ambaſſador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publickly for his maſter's deſigned breach of promiſe, in giving ſecret orders to the *French* general to keep poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulled a paper out of his pocket, "Here, ſays he, is a copy of the cardinal's order; and I deſire you to diſpatch an expreſs immediately to let him know, that I am not to be impoſed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of *Dunkirk* to *Lockhart* within an hour after it ſhould be taken, tell him I'll come in perſon, and demend them at the gates of *Paris*." There were but four perſons ſaid to be privy

privy to this order, the queen-mother, the cardinal, the mareſchal *de Turenne*, and a ſecretary, whoſe name, ſays *Wellwood*, it is not fit to mention. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her women; whereas it was found after the ſecretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Cromwell* for ſeveral years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent the copy of the order above-mentioned.

The meſſage had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. And to palliate the matter, the duke and mareſchal *Crequy* was diſpatched into *England*, ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with a numerous and ſplendid train of perſons of quality; among whom was a prince of the blood, and *Mancini*, *Mazarine*'s nephew, who brought a letter from his uncle, to the protector, full of the higheſt expreſſions of reſpect; and aſſuring his highneſs, "that being within view of the *Engliſh* ſhore, nothing but the king's indiſpoſition (who lay then ill of the ſmall-pox at *Calais*) could have hinder'd him to come over to *England*, that he might enjoy the honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt men that ever was; and whom, next to his maſter, his greateſt ambition was to ſerve. But being deprived of ſo great an happineſs, had ſent the perſon that was neareſt to him in blood, to aſſure him of the profound veneration he had for his perſon, and how much he was reſolved, to the utmoſt of his power, to cultivate a perpetual amity and friendſhip betwixt his maſter and him."

To conclude: It appears from numberleſs inſtances, that as no man practiſed the arts of government with more policy than *Cromwell*, ſo he became more formidable, both at home and abroad, than moſt princes that ever ſate upon the *Engliſh* throne. It was ſaid, that cardinal *Mazarine* would change countenance, whenever he heard him named; ſo that it paſs'd into a proverb in *France*, "That he was not

ſo

ſo much afraid of the devil, as of *Oliver Cromwell.*" And this authority *Cromwell* kept up to the laſt; for after a long chain of ſucceſſes, he died in the peaceful poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, tho' diſguiſed under another name; but left it to a ſon that little reſembled him, one that had neither heart nor abilities to keep it. The protector was buried among our kings, with a royal pomp, and his death condoled by the greateſt princes and ſtates in chriſtendom, in ſolemn embaſſies to his ſon: The author of the compleat hiſtory of *England* obſerves, in his notes, that it remains a queſtion where his body was really buried. "It was, ſays he, in appearance in *Weſtminſter Abbey*; ſome report it was carried below bridge, and thrown into the *Thames*. But it is moſt probable that he was buried in *Naſeby Field.*" It has been obſerved, that as the ides of *March* were equally fortunate and fatal to *Julius Cæſar*, ſo was the third of *September* to *Cromwell*; for on that day he won the two great victories of *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, in 1650 and 1651, and on that day 1658, he died.

Tho' every reader will be able, from what has been ſaid in preceding accounts, to form to himſelf an idea of the great man who is the ſubject of them, yet, as I apprehend it will be expected from me, that I ſhould ſum up the contents of all that has been related, and with the aſſiſtance of what has been written on this head by others, deduce them from a ſort of ſketch or picture; I ſhall here attempt that moſt difficult part of my whole work. And ſince it has been cuſtomary, in order to raiſe our veneration for the royal ſufferer, to oppoſe the character of king *Charles* I. to that of *Cromwell*, I ſhall take the liberty of comparing them, paragraph by paragraph, in ſuch particulars as will admit of compariſon.

Cromwell, as to his perſon, had a manly ſtern look, and was of an active healthful conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt toil and fatigue. In ſchool acquirements the king ſeems to have been his ſuperior, and no wonder, ſince he was not only born the ſon

of

of a monarch, but ſuch a monarch as piqued himſelf more upon his great learning than on his good government. However, if king *Charles* ſpoke ſeveral languages with a good grace, and had a more than ordinary ſkill in the liberal ſciences; it is alſo certain that *Cromwell* had knowledge of the *Latin* and *French* tongues, and could both write and ſpeak them; that he was very well read in the *Greek* and *Roman* hiſtory, and not only reſpected, but patronized men of genius and wit, whom he would take pains to find out. And the ſame writer, *Wellwood*, tells us, that king *Charles* wrote a tolerable hand for a king, but that his ſenſe was ſtrong, and his ſtile laconick; aſſures us likewiſe, that *Cromwell* writ a tolerable good hand, and a ſtile becoming a gentleman.

Cromwell's natuaal abilities muſt always have been very great, tho' at firſt he diſcovered none of thoſe extraordinary talents that uſe to gain applauſe, and work upon the affections of the hearers and ſtanders by. His parts ſeemed to be raiſed as he grew into place and authority, as if he had faculties that lay concealed till he had occaſion to uſe them. When he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithſtanding his want of cuſtom. Tho' his ſpeeches were for the moſt part ambiguous, eſpecially in public meetings, wherein he rather left others to pick out his meaning than told it himſelf; yet at other times he ſufficiently ſhewed he could command his ſtile as there was occaſion, and would deliver himſelf with ſuch energy and force of expreſſion, that it was commonly ſaid, every word he ſpoke was a thing. In this part of his character king *Charles* was no way his ſuperior; for tho' his majeſty ſpoke with a good grace, yet when he grew warm in diſcourſe, he was apt, ſays dr. *Wellwood*, to ſtammer. And as to his behaviour, it was ſaid of him, that he beſtowed favours with a worſe grace than his ſon *Charles* the ſecond refuſed them, and many times obliterated the ſenſe of an obligation by the manner of it.

But

But what was the ſtrongeſt indication of *Cromwell*'s great abilities, was the knowledge he ſhewed of mankind. No man ever dived into the manners and minds of thoſe about him with more penetration, nor ſooner diſcovered their natural talents and tempers than himſelf. If he chanced to hear of a man fit for his purpoſe, tho' never ſo obſcure, he ſent for him and employed him, ſuiting the employment to the perſon, and not the perſon to the employment. Upon this maxim in his government, ſays one, depended in a great meaſure his ſucceſs. And what maxim could be nobler than this, and more worthy of a governor? If king *Charles* had followed it, and not truſted the management of his principal affairs to paraſites and prieſts, the only creatures who engroſſed his favour, his advocates would never have had, that popular ſubject, his martyrdom, to talk of, nor the uſurpation of *Cromwell* to complain of.

How this prince comes to be ſo extremely popular amongſt many of the clergy, and conſequently amongſt many of the laity, influenced by them, is obvious enough. He was a very great bigot to the church, to ceremonies, and ſhew in religion, and to the power and pomp of churchmen: Theſe he cheriſhed and exalted, and ſurrendered to them almoſt the whole ſupremacy; and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the uſe of it as a preſent from him, but ſuffered them to ſeize it for themſelves, and even to deny his title to it. Such his reſpect and favour to them, and humouring them in their perſecution of the puritans, his glutting them with power, and becoming their creature rather than ſovereign and head of the church, they promoted and conſecrated all the exceſſes, oppreſſions, and lawleſs meaſures of his reign, becauſe all theſe violences were exerciſed over the laity; and the churchmen were ſo far from feeling them, that they ſhared in his domination, and acted the king too in their place and turn. This is the true ſource of ſo much merit and praiſe; for this he is adored and ſainted; for this he has been often com-

pared to Jeſus Chriſt in his ſufferings; and for this the guilt of murdering him has been repreſented as greater than that of crucifying our Bleſſed Saviour. [See a layman's ſermon before the ſociety of *Lincoln's Inn*, *Jan.* 30, 1731.]

The piety and virtue of king *Charles*, with ſome people, are inexhauſtable themes of declamation: They tell us he was a proteſtant in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, firm to the church of *England*, conſtant and regular in devotion; that he was never guilty of any exceſs, never regarded any woman but his queen, and could not bear any diſcourſe that was lewd or profane. All this may be granted, without any prejudice to the character of *Cromwell*; tho' it is a matter of much doubt, if every particular of what is here ſaid be exactly true: For if, as ſome ſay, he was for a middle way between proteſtants and papiſts; or as others, did even compliment the pope by letter, with his uſual title, and was willing to reſtore the revenues of the eccleſiaſticks, which had been divided by *Henry* VIII. among the nobility, I cannot ſee how he can be eſteemed ſo hearty a proteſtant: But who ever doubted of *Cromwell*'s ſincere zeal for proteſtantiſm, againſt the errors of the church of *Rome*? Did he not give many ſingle inſtances of it, both at home and abroad? As to his devotion, we have as good a proof of his ſincerity therein, as we can have of any ſuch matter, I mean his whole outward deportment: And it is allowed that he was very temperate, ſparing in his diet; and tho' he would ſome times drink freely, yet never to exceſs; that he was moderate in all other pleaſures, and after his firſt reformation, free from all viſible immoralities; that he ſeemed to be a great enemy to vice, and a lover of virtue, generally taking care to ſuppreſs the former, and to encourage the latter.

King *Charles*'s high opinion of the royal dignity, and the extraordinary qualities he aſſumed to himſelf thereupon, could not but hinder him from being an open and chearful companion. Accordingly we

we are told, that he was of a grave and melancholy diſpoſition: But *Cromwell*, at the hight of his fortune, was very diverting and familiar in converſation, when among his friends; tho' in publick, for decorum ſake, he was more reſerved. On theſe familiar occaſions he commonly called for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take a pipe himſelf: But when buſineſs came upon the carpet, he would paſs from theſe relaxations to the moſt ſerious diſcourſe, and adviſe with his friends about his weighty and important affairs. Add to this, that he affected, for the moſt part, a plainneſs in his clothes; but in them, as well as in his guards and attendants, he appeared with magnificence upon publick occaſions. This ſhews he had a more true taſte of real grandeur and majeſty, than many who were born to the enjoyment of them.

"It cannot be proved, ſays *Rapin*, that king *Charles* excited the *Iriſh* rebellion; however, it may be affirmed, it was not againſt him that the *Iriſh* took arms. The papiſts, both *Iriſh* and *Engliſh*, always looked upon this prince as their protector, and were ever ready to aſſiſt him: If ſo, and conſequently it ſhould be found, that the *Iriſh* rebellion was not diſagreeable to him, with what face can his advocates tell him of his being a merciful prince, and accuſe *Cromwell* of cruelty? Can *Cromwell* be charged with conniving at any ſingle aſſaſſination, much leſs with permitting the maſſacre of thouſands? He was in his temper good-natured and humane, even to his known enemies: He would ſometimes be very merry with ſome of the nobility; and would then take occaſion to tell them what company they had lately kept, and when and where they had drank the king and the royal family's health, adviſing them, when they did ſo again, to do it more privately; and this without the leaſt ſign of paſſion.

We need not deny perſonal courage to king *Charles*, in order to prove that *Cromwell* was braver than he. It was no great compliment therefore that was paſſed

paſſed on him by the *French* miniſter, when he called the protector the firſt captain of the age: His courage and conduct in the field, were wonderful; he had a dignity of ſoul, which the greateſt dangers and difficulties rather animated than diſcouraged; and his diſcipline and government of the army, in all reſpects, was ſuch as might become the moſt renowned and accompliſhed general: Nor was it any diminution of this part of his character, that he was cautious in his conduct; and that after he was declared protector, he always wore a coat of mail under his clothes. Leſs caution than he made uſe of, in the place that he poſſeſs'd, and ſurrounded as he was by ſecret and open enemies, might have deſerved the name of negligence.

I come now to that part of the parallel, in which king *Charles* is thought by many to have had much the advantage, I mean ſincerity. *Cromwell*, indeed, was a great diſſembler; but was he greater than the man who deceived him? Muſt not every one who reads his hiſtory, acknowledge with *Rapin*, that ſincerity was not the favourite virtue of king *Charles*? He that made frequent uſe of mental reſervations, concealed in ambiguous terms and general expreſſions, whereof he reſerved the explication for a proper place and ſeaſon; he who gave his aſſent to acts of parliament, the moſt ſolemn promiſe a king of *England* can make, merely in a belief of their being void in themſelves, and conſeqnently that he was not bound by the engagement; he who courted the parliament's generals, in whoſe power he was, to reſtore him, with a view all the time to deſtroy them, ruin their maſters, and introduce an arbitrary power by right of conqueſt over his own people. Could he be the honeſteſt, ſincereſt beſt man in *England*, as *Cromwell* once thought him by miſtake, and others, who cannot now be miſtaken, have ſince repreſented him? Was it ſtrange that the parliament ſhould not confide in his promiſes? or, that *Cromwell*, after diſcovering his intentions, ſhould abandon his

intereſt,

intereſt, and even to undermine him in his own way? I cannot help thinking, that *Cromwell* had never been that finiſhed diſſembler he afterwards appeared, if the king firſt, and afterwards his own party, had not made it neceſſary to his preſervation; which ſeems to be all he once aimed at; but when he had tried the experiment, and found himſelf an over-match both for the one and the other, he purſued the advantage, till he had joſtled royalty firſt, and afterwards the new-fangled commonwealth monſter, out of all authority, and erected monarchy again in his own perſon upon another baſis, under a name that had not yet become obnoxious.

I cannot help making a quotation here from a modern hiſtorian, who has taken much pains to blacken *Cromwell*'s character, as there appears to be a good deal of truth in his words, mingled up with ſome malice. He tells us, that the uſurper brought about his ends by the moſt exquiſite hypocriſy, and artful management of the ſeveral tribes of bigots and enthuſiaſts under his command. "Other generals, ſays he, by interpreting omens and uncommon accidents, have accompliſhed mighty things; but none ever knew how to work up the paſſions, and apply the wild whimſies of melancholy men to their particular deſigns, like this ſon of diſſimulation and atheiſm: He had well ſtudied the weakneſs and folly peculiar to every ſect, and could direct their rage and fury to the deſtruction of his enemies; and, when it grew dangerous to himſelf, as artfully play them againſt each other. Princes of old ſent to conſult the oracles of diſtant countries: This prodigy of a man was himſelf the ſoldier's oracle; and, if he ſaid heaven approved his purpoſe, they undertook the moſt hazardous enterprize as chearfully as if an angel had promiſed them ſucceſs." *Salmon*'s hiſtory of *England*. It is not my deſign to prove that *Cromwell* was not a great diſſembler, but that king *Charles* actually was ſo too.

We are told that *Cromwell* was an enthuſiaſt; but the

the good ſenſe that appeared in all his actions, publick and private, is a ſufficient teſtimony that enthuſiaſm had not the aſcendant over him. And, indeed, notwithſtanding his pretenſions of grace and regeneration, one would be tempted to think, that he could have no real reliſh of the doctrines he profeſſed, but only that he ſuited his diſſimulation to all parties and tempers. Mr. *Waller*, who was his kinſman, frequently waited on him during his protectorſhip; and, as he often declared, obſerved him to be very well read in antient learning; and that his rude cant and ſpiritual ſimplicity were downright affectation. *Waller* frequently took notice, that in the midſt of their diſcourſe a ſervant has come in, to tell him ſuch and ſuch perſons attended; upon which *Cromwell* would riſe, and ſtop them, talking at the door, where he could over-hear him ſay, *The Lord will reveal, the Lord will help*, and ſeveral ſuch expreſſions; which, when he returned to mr. *Waller*, he excuſed, ſaying, *Couſin* Waller, *I muſt talk to theſe men after their own way*; and would then go on where they left off. This created in mr. *Waller* an opinion that he ſecretly deſpiſed thoſe whom he ſeemed to court.

But if *Cromwell* was no enthuſiaſt, it is certain that king *Charles* was a very great one. Pomp and ceremony, which were then called decency and good order, with the divine right of epiſcopacy, as well as royalty, had got ſo thorough a poſſeſſion of his underſtanding, that he could ſee nothing but thro' the medium of theſe: So had been modelled by *Laud*, *Neile*, *Wren*, *Montague*, and other *Sacheverels* of thoſe times, that if he may in any ſenſe be called a martyr, it was to the pride and ambition of eccleſiaſticks, rather than, as is weakly pretended, to the proteſtant religion, and the church of *England*.

We have an unexceptionable picture of the principal clergy of this reign, from a ſpeech of the excellent lord *Falkland*, a nobleman, who was afterwards ſlain in the king's ſervice: "It ſeemed, ſays he,

he, their work, [the biſhops] to try how much of a papiſt might be brought in without popery, and to deſtroy as much as they could of the goſpel, without bringing themſelves into danger of being deſtroyed by the law: Some of them have ſo induſtriouſly laboured to deduce themſelves from *Rome*, that they have given great ſuſpicion, that in gratitude they deſire to return thither, or at leaſt to meet it half way. Some have evidently laboured to bring in an *Engliſh*, tho' not a *Roman* popery; I mean, not only the outſide and dreſs of it, but equally abſolute, a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy, and of the clergy upon themſelves; and have oppoſed the papacy beyond the ſea, that they might ſettle one beyond the water [namely, at *Lambeth.*] Nay, common fame is more than ordinary falſe, if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of *Rome* to the preferments of *England*, and be ſo abſolutely, directly, and cordially papiſts, that it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from confeſſing it.—He had ſaid juſt before, "That they had at firſt depreſſed preaching to their power, and next laboured to make it ſuch, as the harm had not been much if it had been depreſſed. The moſt frequent ſubjects, even in the moſt ſecret auditories, being the divine right of biſhops and tithes, the ſacredneſs of the clergy, the ſacriledge of impropriations, the demoliſhing of puritaniſm and property, the building the prerogative at *St. Paul*'s; the introduction of ſuch doctrines, as, admitting them true, the truth would not recompence the ſcandal; or of ſuch that were ſo falſe, that, as ſir *Thomas More* ſaid of the caſuiſts, they ſerved but to inform them how near they might approach to ſin, without ſinning."

A late author aſſerts farther, and it ſeems upon a good foundation, "That archbiſhop *Laud* was already affecting the title of Holineſs, and Moſt Holy Father. The books of the papiſts were licenſed by his chaplains, or approved by himſelf. New books againſt

againſt popery were by him forbid to be printed; and thoſe already printed were called in. The beſt proteſtant books of long ſtanding, and formerly publiſhed by authority, were not ſuffered to be reprinted; not even *Fox*'s famous acts and monuments, a common-place book to proteſtants of their ſufferings and burnings under queen *Mary*, and of the popiſh cruelty then and before. The very *Practice of Piety*, a proteſtant book, which had gone thro' ſix and thirty editions, was not permitted to be reprinted. Biſhop *Wren* put this extraordinary article among thoſe of his viſitation: "That the churchwardens in every pariſh in his dioceſe, ſhould enquire whether any perſons preſumed to talk of religion at their tables, or in their families." It was made one of the articles againſt biſhop *Williams*, that he had ſaid, "He did not allow the prieſts to jeer, nor to make invectives againſt the people." It was another article againſt him, "That he had wickedly jeſted on *St. Martin*'s hood." And it was another article againſt him, "That he had ſaid, that the people are God's and the king's, and not the prieſt's people;" tho' for this he quoted a national council. Poor *Gillebrand*, an almanack-maker, was proſecuted by the archbiſhop in the high-commiſſion court, for leaving the names of the old popiſh ſaints out of his calendar, and inſerting in their room the names of the proteſtant martyrs. Biſhop *Coſins* of *Durham* cauſed three hundred wax-candles to be lighted up in the church on *Candlemaſs-Day*, in honour of our lady: He forbid any pſalms to be ſung before or after the ſermon, but, inſtead of pſalms, an anthem in praiſe of the three kings of *Colen*. He declared in the pulpit, that when our reformers aboliſhed the maſs, they took away all good order: He ſaid, that the king had no more power over the church, than the boy that rubbed his horſes heels: For the clergy had then aſſumed to themſelves the real ſupremacy; and as the crown had taken it from the pope, who had uſurped it, they had uſurped it now from the crown,

crown, to the diſgrace of the king, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and to their own ſhame, and even perjury." Vide examination of the facts and reaſonings of the biſhop of *Chicheſter*'s ſermon before the houſe of lords, *Jan.* 30, 1731. What muſt the king be, who could bear all this, and even ſuffer himſelf in defence of theſe uſurpations?

I ſhall continue this parallel only in two inſtances more, which regard the exerciſe of their authority; and theſe are, their juſtice in the adminiſtration of affairs at home, and their zeal for the honour of their country abroad. As to the firſt, "king *Charles*, according to his advocate, lord *Clarendon*, was ſo great a lover of juſtice, that no temptation could diſpoſe him to an unjuſt action, except it was ſo diſguiſed to him, that he believed it to be juſt." Upon which *Rapin* has the following remark. "This, ſays he, may be true, if applied to particular perſons; but beſides the juſtice which the king ought to adminiſter impartially to private perſons, there is another ſort of juſtice due from him to all his people in general. With reſpect to this latter, it may juſtly be doubted, that lord *Clarendon*'s encomium is inconſiſtent with the project of altering the conſtitution, and aſſuming a power which was certainly illegal."

But more than this, methinks we may even queſtion the whole of lord *Clarendon*'s aſſertion. Could he be ſo great a lover of juſtice, who ſuffered it to be daily perverted, in the moſt notorious manner, by the ſtar-chamber and high-commiſſion courts? Were levies upon the people without conſent of parliament, and arbitrary impriſonments and fines for non-payment: Were thoſe inſtances of a tender regard for private property, and the liberty of the ſubject? But perhaps theſe were the actions that came diſguiſed to him, ſo as to appear juſt. If that was the caſe, he muſt either have been more ignorant, or more indolent than became a king; but the imputation of ignorance he removed himſelf, when he

declared, "That he knew the laws as well as any private gentleman in *England*." What then, did he entirely neglect the examination of affairs? Did he leave all to his miniſters? the *Villers*'s, the *Lauds*, and the *Staffords*? Will not even this be allowed? Then let thoſe, who can, acquit him of the many illegal acts of ſovereignty, that blacken his reign.

I need not take much pains to prove that *Cromwell* was herein unlike king *Charles*, ſince the worſt of his enemies call him a lover of juſtice, without any ſuch ſaving clauſe about the diſguiſing of an unjuſt action. *Cromwell* ſaw and judged for himſelf; if an action was diſguiſed, he knew how to unmaſk it, which he certainly did. Whatever arbitrary proceedings he has been charged with, were only in inſtances where his authority was controverted; which, as things then were, it was neceſſary to have eſtabliſhed, not for his particular ſecurity alone, but in order that the law, in other caſes, might have due courſe.

And if he claims this preheminence in the adminiſtration at home, what ſhall we ſay of the other point, his maintaining the honour of the *Engliſh* nation in foreign parts? By this, it has been well obſerved, he gratified the temper which is ſo very natural to *Engliſhmen*. He would often ſay, "that the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the repreſentative head; and therefore the nation being ſtill the ſame, he would have the ſame reſpect paid to his miniſters as if he had been a king." Was it not an inſtance without example, that in four or five years he ſhould revenge all the inſults committed on his country during a civil war, retrieve the credit that had been gradually ſinking thro' two long reigns of near fifty years, extend his dominions in remote parts, acquire the real maſterſhip of the *Britiſh* channel, and in fine, render himſelf the arbitrator of *Europe*? Not a ſingle *Briton*, in his time, but could demand reparation, or at leaſt ſatisfaction for injuries

injuries ſuſtained, whether from the corſairs of *Barbary*, *France*, or *Spain*, (witneſs the ſtory of the quaker formerly mentioned.) Not an oppreſſed foreigner claimed his protection, but it was immediately and effectually granted. What ſhall we compare to this in the reign of king *Charles*, or his father? Was the honour of the flag then aſſerted? Were we not duped, deſpiſed, and inſulted? How was the elector palatine protected, tho' the ſon-in-law of king *James?* How was the duke of *Rohen* aſſiſted in the proteſtant war at *Rochelle*, notwithſtanding the ſolemn engagement of king *Charles* under his own hand? But I have done with compareing of perſons between whom there is ſo little ſhadow of reſemblance; and ſhall content myſelf with throwing together a few more ſuch particulars with regard to each of them, as I find to be the ſentiments of thoſe who have written of theſe times.

To begin with the king. And here I ſhall have recourſe to the words of a modern author, who has drawn his character I am afraid but too juſtly, tho' perhaps with a little more warmth and freedom of expreſſion than were abſolutely neceſſary: "The violation, ſays he, the repeated and continual violation of his coronation oath; his paſſing the bill of rights, and owning all theſe rights to be legal and juſt, and then confeſſing that he had broken them all; nay, his violating that very bill in all its parts, almoſt as ſoon as he had paſſed it, were but ill marks of an upright heart. He was guilty of all theſe exceſſes at a time when his parliament were well diſpoſed for the honourable ſupport of his government, and free from any deſign to diſtreſs it, much leſs to alter it; nay, were ready to grant him very noble ſupplies, if he would but have ſuffered juſtice to be done on publick traitors, the infamous inſtruments of illegal power, and of mutual diſtruſt between him and his people.

He actually committed, or attempted to commit, all the enormities, all the acts of uſurpation, committed

mitted by the late king *James*; levied money againſt law; levied forces, and obliged his ſubjects to maintain them againſt law; raiſed a body of foreign forces to deſtroy the law, and enſlave his people at once; diſpenſed with all the laws; filled the priſons with illuſtrious patriots, who defended the law, and themſelves by the law; encouraged and rewarded hireling doctors to maintain that his will was above law, nay itſelf the higheſt law, and binding upon the conſciences of his ſubjects, on pain of eternal damnation; and that as ſuch reſiſted his royal will, reſiſted God, and were guilty of impiety and rebellion: He robbed cities of their charters, the publick of its money and liberty, and treated his free-born ſubjects as ſlaves born to obey him.

It is ſaid, that he was not a papiſt; perhaps he was not; that is, not a ſubject to the pope of *Rome*; but he was bent upon ſetting up an hierarchy in *England*, reſembling that of *Rome* in all its power and terrors. Nor does it avail, if men are to be perſecuted and oppreſſed for their conſcience, whether they ſuffer from the tyranny of a *Hildebrand*, a *Luther*, or a *Laud*.—It is certain, that of all the diſſenters, none but the papiſts had any mercy ſhewn them, and theſe were in high favour.

Had he not laid aſide parliaments? [ſpeaking of the latter part of his reign] laid them aſide for twelve years together? Had he not made it penal even to talk of parliaments? Nor does it at all appear, that he ever intended to call another, till the diſtreſſes brought upon him by his wanton conduct, and by the wiſe advice of the biſhops, (who involv'd him in a war with his own people for words and forms, and the violent eſtabliſhment of prelacy in *Scotland*) forced him to it. Nay, I think it apparent, that he very early meditated to rule like his brother of *France*; at leaſt, that this bad ſpirit was infuſed into him by his traiterous counſellors, and porticularly animated by the biſhops and clergy.

His

His judges were publick traitors, enemies to their country, the hirelings of power, wretches who ſanctified by the name of law, as many of the clergy did by the name of Chriſt, the moſt complicated wickedneſs under the ſun, that of overturning all laws human and divine, and of enſlaving a whole people. It availed not what ſufficiency they had in the knowledge of the law, farther than to condemn them; nor did it avail what was ſaid to their advantage, ſince facts, the moſt notorious, contradict it.—Did king *James*'s judges go greater lengths to legitimate lawleſs power and oppreſſion? amongſt them too were able men; they were therefore the more inexcuſable. The truth is, both theſe princes ſeem to have conſidered their judges as the machines and champions of uſurpation, as the abandoned inſtruments of cancelling law by chicanery.

As to his declarations and conceſſions [to his laſt parliament] to govern for the future by the known laws of the land, and to maintain the juſt rights and privileges of parliaments; I have already taken ſome notice how much his actions contradicted his declarations. He had already contradicted, over and over, all his profeſſions to former parliaments; he had manifeſted ſuch an affection for lawleſs power, and ſuch a ſettled intention to introduce it; ſuch a fondneſs for the promoters of it, and ſuch diſlike of all other men and meaſures, that it was no wonder his laſt parliament had no good opinion of him, and guarded themſelves with all poſſible ſecurities againſt a relapſe ino their former bondage; and I doubt his readineſs in his conceſſions, was no proof of a purpoſe to obſerve them: They ſtill remembered how wantonly he had broke his coronation oath, the bill of rights, and all the ties of law; ſeized their properties, and impriſoned their perſons. And all his compliance ſeemed only the effects of diſtreſs, all his other reſources having failed him; nor had his recourſe to parliament, till violence, and power, and ſtratagems, and every ſcheme of ſupport from any other

other quarter, had miſcarried; and he conformed to old ways, when new would no longer do.

This ſeemed to be the opinion of the parliament, and this the ſole cauſe of their diſtruſt: They remembered his profeſſions to former parliaments, and how little his actions had correſponded with theſe his profeſſions; how he had inſulted parliaments when he though he could ſubſiſt, however lawleſly, without them; how wantonly he had diſſolved 'em; how barbarouſly he had uſed their perſons after ſuch diſſolution; a diſſolution called by my lord *Clarendon*, "unwarrantable, unſkilful, and precipitate." Theſe jealouſies poſſeſſed the whole parliament, at leaſt the majority; and ſome concurring accidents terribly heightened them, particularly his ſuppoſed tampering with the army in the North, and the *Iriſh* maſſacre: Yet amongſt all theſe alarms, there ſeems not the leaſt view in that aſſembly to aboliſh the monarchy, or to introduce a new government. It was compoſed of many great and able men, who all concurred in putting reſtraints upon the king, ſuch as he might not be able to break through. What events followed no man foreſaw, or could foreſee. A war enſued, and on both ſides there appeared conſiderable men.

But yet the great men who adhered to the king, tho' they thought the parliament too violent, ſeemed to have had no confidence in him, that he meant well to the conſtitution; and it was properly owing to ſuch their diſtruſt of his humour and deſigns, that after the battle of *Edge-hill*, where he had the advantage on his ſide, they did not proceed to *London*, where he might have had a chance of being maſter. They who gave him good counſel at *Oxford*, found but cold uſage, and ſome of them were diſgraced.—And, if I remember right, it appears from my lord *Clarendon*, that the conceſſions which he made, proceeded from no purpoſe to obſerve them.

As to what has been further offered, in proof of the king's ſincerity and good intentions, namely, his chriſtian

chriſtian fortitude at his death; this reaſon will [equally] juſtify thoſe who doomed him to die. Did not the regicides meet death with great intrepidity, ſome of them with raptures? Do not almoſt all enthuſiaſts die ſo, even the moſt criminal and bloody, even traitors and aſſaſſins? I think the goodneſs of his intention had been more clear, had he owned the many grievous iniquities of his reign, his oppreſſion and arbitrary rule: But we ſee in this, as in other inſtances, the great partiality of men to themſelves and their own actions, and how little their opinions ought to weigh in ſuch caſes. Cardinal *Richeleu*, who had done a thouſand acts of violence and injuſtice, ſaw at his death no guilt in any part of his life, eſpecially as a miniſter."

There need be nothing added to theſe extracts, which ſome, perhaps, may think abundantly too ſevere; but if things are true, why ſhould they not be ſpoken? Is the name of king *Charles* ſo very ſacred that every other name muſt be aſperſed to preſerve his ſpotleſs? Admit but a very ſmall part of what is here ſaid, and aſcribe all the reſt to partiality and malice, and I doubt there will ſtill be enough to deprive the royal martyr of much of the veneration that is paid to his memory.

I come now to my other character, which is that of *Cromwell:* We are told by all parties, that he had an abſolute command over all his paſſions and affections, ſo that he could ſuit his carriage to all companies and occaſions; while himſelf, ſearching the opinions of others, artfully concealed his own; that he applied himſelf ſo induſtriouſly to the buſineſs of the commonwealth, and diſcovered ſuch abilities for the management of it, that his greateſt enemies acknowledged he was not unworthy of the government, if his way to it had been juſt and innocent. In a word, we have this character of him, by lord *Clarendon*, who abhorred his memory: "He muſt have had a wonderful underſtanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying

applying them, who, from a private and obſcure birth (tho' of a good family) without intereſt or eſtate, alliance or friendſhip, could raiſe himſelf to ſuch a height, and compound and knead ſuch oppoſite and contradictory tempers, humours, and intereſts, into a conſiſtence that contributed to his deſigns, and to their own deſtruction, whilſt himſelf grew inſenſibly powerful enough to cut off thoſe by whom he had climbed, in the inſtant that they projected to demoliſh their own building."

Tho' *Cromwell* was ambitious to a very high degree, yet at the ſame time he had a paſſionate regard for the publick good. It is certain he did more things for the honour and advantage of the nation, notwithſtanding his own precarious ſituation, than had been done for whole ages in the preceding times. Some of them were laboured at long before to no effect, and being dropped upon the reſtoration, have been ſince reſumed, and carried on with great difficulty. To inſtance only in two, the union of the three kingdoms and the reformation of the laws. King *James* had wiſhed from his firſt coming to *England*, to cement an union between South and North Britain; neither he nor his ſon could ever accompliſh it; but *Cromwell* united not only *England* and *Scotland*, but brought in *Ireland* alſo. How many years was it afterwards, and with what expence and labour, that king *James*'s original plan, which was but half ſo extenſive as *Cromwell*'s, was firmly eſtabliſhed? And then as to the laws, he out-vied the beſt of our kings that had gone before him, and every one ſince him, till his preſent moſt ſacred majeſty. *Edward* III. permitted pleading in the *Engliſh* tongue, but he went no farther, whereas *Cromwell* rendered not only the pleadings, but the practice, and even the laws themſelves into *Engliſh*. What a noble ſcheme this was, is manifeſt from the reſumption of it in our own days.

If *Cromwell* united three kingdoms in one, he firſt conquered two of thoſe kingdoms. *Ireland* had long been

been reckoned a demeſne of the crown of *England*, but had never been ſo ſubdued as to render the natives tractable and docile. They were now at open war with the *Engliſh* parliament, and got poſſeſſion of all the garriſons, but one or two; but *Cromwell* ſoon reduced them to obedience, and put them out of a capacity of being ever ſo formidable ſince: He did the ſame to the hardy *Scots*, and even took their impregnable caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which, they ſay, had never before ſubmitted to a conqueror. With all theſe extraordinary qualities, and this wonderful ſeries of ſucceſs, need we think it ſtrange that he was the admiration of the age in which he lived, and that thoſe who hated him moſt, even praiſed him in their invectives? Even *Dryden*, *Waller*, *Sprat*, and other fine poets, who afterwards inſulted his memory, in order to pay their court to the riſing ſun, found themſelves inſpired with his praiſe, while his were freſh in their minds, and could not help paying that tribute to his remains, which the muſes never beſtow voluntarily but on the greateſt of men, the heroes and patrons of mankind?

Having mentioned the poets, I cannot in juſtice but take notice that mr. *Abraham Cowley*, the celebrated wit of that age, was ſo far from falling in with this panegyrizing humour of his brethren, that he has written *A Diſcourſe, by way of Viſion, concerning the Government of* Oliver Cromwell, with an expreſs view to render his name and memory odious to all poſterity: But if it be conſidered, that mr. *Cowley* had altogether as ſtrong perſonal reaſons, at leaſt in his own opinion, to prejudice him againſt the protector, as mr. *Waller* had to engage him in his intereſt, we ſhall have juſt grounds to ſuſpect the impartiality of the ſatiriſt, as much as that of the encomiaſt. *Waller* had been fined and baniſhed in the heat of the civil war, for a conſpiracy againſt the parliament, of whom he was a member: He was recalled when *Cromwell* aſſumed the ſupreme power, and had his eſtate, what was left of it, reſtored to

him by the protector. *Cowley* had all along been a ſharer in the diſtreſſes of the royal family, and ſpent above twelve years in their ſervice abroad; and when it was thought fit, by thoſe on whom he depended, that he ſhould come over into *England*, and, under pretence of privacy and retirement, take occaſion of giving notice of the poſture of affairs here; he was ſeized ſoon after his arrival, being miſtaken for another gentleman, and, after examination, detained, and put under a ſevere reſtraint, from which he was not releaſed without giving a thouſand pounds bail, which kept him in *England*, as a priſoner at large, till after *Cromwell*'s death; a circumſtance that, added to his loyalty to his maſter, would hardly fail of ſouring his temper againſt the government of thoſe times; tho', in fact, to an unprejudiced perſon at this day, if the buſineſs he came over upon was diſcovered at his examination, it rather proves the lenity than the ſeverity of *Cromwell*'s adminiſtration, that a man of mr. *Cowley*'s dangerous genius and firm attachment to the king, and whom it had been found impoſſible to bring over to the other party, ſhould have his liberty upon ſuch eaſy terms: But the light in which mr. *Cowley* beheld the protector's authority, made every act of power he exerted, tho' ever ſo tenderly, look like heavy oppreſſion, and moſt inſupportable tyranny.

Yet when I read this gentleman's abovemention'd diſcourſe (which is couched in the form of a dialogue between the guardian, or rather governing demon of the deceaſed protector, and the author) I cannot but think he has put ſome arguments into the mouth of his evil ſpirit, that he ſeems not able ſatisfactorily to anſwer afterwards, and that too in thoſe particulars on which he moſt ſtrenuouſly inſiſts. I will give the reader only two paragraphs, with a few ſhort reflections on them.

"What can be more extraordinary, ſays our imaginary demon, that a perſon of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have at ſeveral times, nor of mind, which have often, raiſed men

men to the higheſt dignities, ſhould have the courage to attempt, and the happineſs to ſucceed in, ſo improbable a deſign, as the deſtruction of one of the moſt ancient, and moſt ſolid monarchies upon earth? That he ſhould have the power or boldneſs to put his prince and maſter to an open and infamous death? To baniſh that numerous and ſtrong-allied family? To do all this under the name and wages of a parliament? To trample upon them as he pleaſed, and turn them out of doors when he grew weary of them? To raiſe up a new and unheard-of monſter out of their aſhes? To ſtifle that in the very infancy, and ſet up himſelf above all things that ever were called ſovereign in *England?* To oppreſs his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterwards by artifice? To ſerve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victorioufly at laſt? To over-run each corner of the three nations, and overcome, with equal facility, both the riches of the ſouth, and the poverty of the north? To be feared and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth? To call together parliaments with a word of his pen, and ſcatter them again with the breath of his mouth? To be humbly and daily petitioned, that he would pleaſe to be hired, at the rate of two millions a year, to be the maſter of thoſe who had hired him before to be their ſervant? To have the eſtates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his diſpoſal, as was the little inheritance of his father; and to be as noble and liberal in the ſpending of them? And laſtly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory) to bequeath all this with one word to his poſterity? To die with peace at home, and triumph abroad? To be buried among kings with more than regal ſolemnity? And to leave a name behind him, not to be extinguiſhed but with the whole world; which, as it is now too little for his praiſes, ſo might it have been too for his conqueſts, if the ſhort line of his human life could have been ſtretched out to the extent of his immortal deſigns?"

I took

I took notice, at the beginning of this review, of the great abſurdity of depriving *Cromwell* of every great and noble quality, and at the ſame time aſcribeing to him ſuch actions as none but a great man was ever known to perform. Mr. *Cowley*, we ſee, among other loyal writers of that age, has fallen into this abſurdity, and even put it into the mouth of the protector's apologiſt, as a thing acknowledged by his own party: But needs there any other anſwer to the poſtulatum in the firſt queſtion, than what is contained in that, and all the queſtions that follow? It lay upon him to prove, that the man who did all the wonderful things he there enumerates, had no extraordinary qualities either of body or mind; otherwiſe we are not obliged to admit ſuch an improbability on his mere ſuppoſition, againſt all the evidence of facts that no man attempts to contradict? The whole diſpute therefore concerning his merit, muſt turn at laſt, I believe, upon his moral qualifications, and not upon his abilities natural or acquired. And the only queſtion then is (and indeed mr. *Cowley*'s declamation againſt him cloſes chiefly on that point) whether *Cromwell* was an honeſt, not whether he was a great man? and how far what he did will admit of a juſtification? This is the propoſition I have had in view throughout the preſent eſſay; every reader muſt judge, according to his own ſentiments of government, and the critical ſituation of thoſe times, how much I have carried it in his favour: For till the points are ſettled, in what caſes, and how far, reſiſtance to the ſupreme magiſtrate be lawful; and at what criſes a man may, to prevent confuſion, aſſume that power to himſelf which he ſees to be falling away from others: I cannot ſee that we have any certainty to determine theſe matters by *Cromwell*'s ſincerity, which I have almoſt every where given up, eſpecially after his breaking off with the king; but this, I think, is done with no more diſadvantage to him, than the king himſelf is ſtripped of the ſame virtue, upon evidence equally valid. And allow-

allowing him to be defective in this, and that he was a moſt finiſhed diſſembler (if indeed diſſimulation were in him properly a defect) I ſhould be glad to know what other qualification, neceſſary to the forming a great prince, I will not venture to ſay a good man, appears to be wanting in him.

But I proceed to my other quotation, in which the author makes his demon diſcuſs the queſtion, Whether the protector was a tyrant in the uſurpation of power? The paſſage runs thus:

"I ſay, that not only he, but no man ever was ſo [a tyrant in the uſurpation of power] and that for theſe reaſons: Firſt, becauſe all power belongs only to God, who is the ſource and fountain of it, as kings are of all honours in their dominions. Princes are but his viceroys in the little provinces of this world; and to ſome he gives their places for a few years, to ſome for their lives, and to others (upon ends and deſerts beſt known to himſelf, or merely for his indiſputable good pleaſure) he beſtows, as it were, leaſes upon them, and their poſterity, for ſuch a date of time as is prefixed in that patent of their deſtiny, which is not legible to you men below: Neither is it more unlawful for *Oliver* to ſucceed *Charles* in the kingdom of *England*, when God ſo diſpoſes of it, than it had been for him to have ſucceeded the lord *Stafford* in the lieutenancy of *Ireland*, if he had been appointed to it by the king then reigning. Men are in both caſes obliged to obey him, whom they really ſee inveſted with the authority, by that ſovereign from whom he ought to derive it, without diſputing or examining the cauſes, either of the removal of the one, or the preferment of the other. Secondly, becauſe all power is attended either by the election or conſent of the people, and that takes away the objection of forcible intruſion; or elſe by a conqueſt of them, and that gives ſuch a legal authority as muſt be wanting in the uſurpation of a tyrant; ſo that either this title is right, and then there are no uſurpers, or elſe it is a

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wrong one, and then there are none elſe but uſurpers, if you examine the original pretences of the world. Thirdly, (which, quitting the diſpute in general, is a particular juſtification of his highneſs) the government of *England* was entirely deſtroyed and diſſolved, by the confuſion of a civil war; ſo that his highneſs could not be accuſed of poſſeſſing himſelf violently of the antient building of the commonwealth, but to have prudently and peaceably built up a new one out of the ruins and aſhes of the former; and he who, after a deplorable ſhipwreck, can with extraordinary induſtry gather together the diſperſed and broken pieces of it, and with no leſs wonderful art and felicity to rejoin them, as to make a new veſſel more tight and beautiful than the old one, deſerves, no doubt, to have the command of her (even as his highneſs had) by the deſire of the ſeamen and paſſengers themſelves. And do but conſider laſtly, (for I omit a multitude of weighty matters that might be ſpoken upon this noble argument) do but conſider ſeriouſly and impartially with your ſelf, what admirable parts of wit and prudence, what indefatigable diligence and invincible courage muſt of neceſſity have concurred in the perſon of that man, who on ſo contemptible beginnings, and thro' ſo many thouſand difficulties, was able not only to make himſelf the greateſt and moſt abſolute monarch of this nation, but to add to it the entire conqueſt of *Ireland* and *Scotland* (which the whole force of the world, joined with the *Roman* virtue, could never attain to) and to crown all this with illuſtrious and heroical undertakings, and ſucceſſes upon all our foreign enemies, I ſay, do but conſider this, and you will confeſs, that his prodigious merits were a better title to imperial dignity, than the blood of an hundred royal progenitors; and will rather lament that he lived not to overcome more nations, than envy him the conqueſt and dominion of theſe."

I refer the reader to the author's works for his anſwer at large to the foregoing propoſitions, it being

too

too long to be inſerted here; but muſt inform him beforehand, that if he is not prejudiced by notions of abſolute indefeaſible right, I am apt to think he will imagine mr. *Cowley* might, upon the whole, as well have let this enquiry alone; and that he has ſtated the points of aſſumption and tranſlation of empire a little too ſtrongly on the protector's ſide, unleſs his own arguments had been better founded, and more concluſive.

To make *Cromwell* the ſole author of all that confuſion, and diſſolution of government, in which he manifeſtly bore only a part, and that in the capacity of a ſervant; but which he ſingly reſtored again at a critical time to his own advantage; and yet to deny him every great endowment, moral and intellectual; nay the very honour of having once ſaid a wiſe and witty thing; this is more of the ſame abſurdity that was before exploded, and what might well enough make his antagoniſt "fall a laughing, as the author himſelf expreſſes it, at the ſimplicity of his diſcourſe." As to the reſt, there may be much truth in what he advances upon moral and chriſtian principles, and ſomewhat immoral and unchriſtian in a few of the *Machiavellian* maxims above recited; yet the admitting of all this does not derogate from *Cromwell*'s abilities, nor leſſen the merit of his making a good uſe of power, when he might, without controul, have abuſed it to the vileſt purpoſes.

A Letter of the marquis of Montroſs *to king* Charles I. *delivered during the treaty of* Uxbridge, *and which was the occaſion of breaking off the conferences.*

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE laſt diſpatch I ſent your majeſty was by my worthy friend, and your majeſty's brave ſervant, ſir *William Rollock*, from *Kintore*, near *Aberdeen*, the 14th of *September* laſt; wherein I acquainted your majeſty with the good ſucceſs of your arms in this kingdom, and of the battles the juſtice of your cauſe has

has won over your obdured rebel ſubjects. Since ſir *William Rollock* went, I have traverſed all the north of *Scotland*, up to *Argyle*'s country, who durſt not ſtay my coming, or I ſhould have given your majeſty a good account of him e'er now; but at laſt I have met with him to his coſt; of which your gracions majeſty be pleaſed to receive the following particulars.

After I had laid waſte the whole county of *Argyle*, and brought off proviſions for my army of what could be found, I received information, that *Argyle* was got together with a conſiderable army, made up chiefly of his own clan, and vaſſals, and tenants, with others of the rebels that joined him; and that he was at *Inverlochy*, where he expected the earl of *Seaforth*, and the ſept (family) of the *Fraziers*, to come up to him with all the forces they could get together. Upon this intelligence I departed out of *Argyleſhire*, and marched thro' *Lorn*, *Glencow*, and *Aber*, till I came to *Lockneſs*; my deſign being to fall upon *Argyle*, before *Seaforth* and the *Fraziers* could join him. My march was thro' inacceſſible mountains, where I could have no guides but cowherds, and they ſcarce acquainted with a place but ſix miles from their own habitations. If I had been attacked but with one hundred men in ſome of theſe paſſes, I muſt have certainly returned back; for it would have been impoſſible to force my way, moſt of the paſſes being ſo ſtrait, that three men could not march a-breaſt. I was willing to let the world ſee, that *Argyle* was not the man his highland-men believed him to be, and that it was not impoſſible to beat him in his own highlands. The difficulteſt march of all, was over the *Lochaber* mountains, and which at laſt we ſurmounted, and came upon the back of the enemy when they leaſt ſuſpected us, having cut off ſome ſcouts we met four miles from *Inverlochy*. Our van came within view of them about five o'clock in the afternoon, and we made a halt till our rear was got up, which could not be done

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till eight at night. The rebels took the alarm and ſtood to their arms as well as we all night, which was moon-light, and very clear. There were ſome few ſkirmiſhes between the rebels and us all the night, and with no loſs on our ſide, but one man. By break of day I ordered my men to be ready to fall on upon the firſt ſignal; and I underſtand ſince, by the priſoners, the rebels did the ſame. A little after the ſun was up, both armies met, and the rebels fought for ſome time with great bravery; the prime of the *Campbels* giving the firſt onſet as men that deſerved to fight in a better cauſe. Our men, having a nobler cauſe, did wonders, and came immediately to puſh of pike, and dint of ſword, after their firſt firing. The rebels could not ſtand it, but after ſome reſiſtance at firſt, began to run, whom we purſued for nine miles together, making a great ſlaughter; which I would have hindered, if poſſible, that I might ſave your majeſty's rebel ſubjects; for well I know your majeſty does not delight in their blood, but in their returning to their duty. There were at leaſt fifteen hundred killed in the battle, and the purſuit; among whom were a great many of the moſt conſiderable gentlemen of the name of *Campbel*, and ſome of them nearly related to the earl. I have ſaved and taken priſoners ſeveral of them, that have acknowledged to me their fault, and lay all the blame on their chief. Some gentlemen of the low lands, that had behaved themſelves bravely in the battle, when they ſaw all loſt, fled into their old caſtle; and upon their ſurrender I have treated them honourably, and taken their parole, never to bear arms againſt your majeſty. We have of your majeſty's army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerouſly. I can hear but of four killed, and one of them whom I cannot name to your majeſty but with grief of mind, ſir *Thomas Ogilvy*, of whom I wrote to you in my laſt. He is not yet dead, but they ſay he cannot poſſibly live, and we give him over for dead. Your majeſty

never had a more faithful ſervant, nor there never was a braver honeſter gentleman. For the reſt of the particulars of this action, I refer myſelf to the bearer, mr. *Hay*, whom your majeſty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, ſacred ſir, let me humbly entreat your majeſty's pardon, if I preſume to write you my poor thoughts and opinion about what I heard by a letter I received from my friends in the ſouth laſt week, as if your majeſty was entering into a treaty with your rebel parliament in *England*. The ſucceſs of your arms in *Scotland* does not more rejoice my heart, than that news from *England* is like to break it. And whatever comes of me, I will ſpeak my mind freely to your majeſty; for it is not mine, but your majeſty's intereſt I ſeek. When I had the honour of waiting upon your majeſty laſt, I told you at full length what I fully underſtood of the deſigns of your rebel ſubjects in both kingdoms; which I had occaſion to know as much as any one whatſoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their intereſt. Your majeſty may remember how much you ſaid you were convinced I was in the right in my opinion of them. I am ſure there is nothing fallen out ſince, to make your majeſty change your judgment in all thoſe things I laid before your majeſty at that time. The more your majeſty grants, the more will be aſked; and I have too much reaſon to know, that they will not reſt ſatisfied with leſs than making your majeſty a king of ſtraw. I hope the news I have received about a treaty may be a miſtake; and the rather, that the letter wherewith the queen was pleaſed to honour me, dated the 30th of *December*, mentions no ſuch thing: Yet I know not what to make of the intelligence I received, ſince it comes from ſir *Robert Spotſwood*, who writes it with great regret; and it's no wonder, conſidering that no man living is a more ſincere ſubject than he: Forgive me, ſacred ſovereign, to tell your majeſty, that, in my poor opinion, it is unworthy

worthy of a king to treat with rebel ſubjects, while they have the ſword in their hands. And tho' God forbid I ſhould ſtint your majeſty's mercy, yet I muſt declare the horror that I am in, when I think of a treaty, while your majeſty and they are in a field with two armies, unleſs they diſband, and ſubmit themſelves entirely to your majeſty's pardon and goodneſs. As to the ſtate of affairs in this kingdom the bearer will fully inform your majeſty in every particular: And give me leave, with all humility, to aſſure your majeſty, that, thro' God's bleſſing, I am in the faireſt way to reduce this kingdom to your majeſty's obedience. And if the meaſures I have concerted with your other loyal ſubjects fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this ſummer I ſhall be able to come to your majeſty's aſſiſtance with a brave army; and, back'd with the juſtice of your majeſty's cauſe, will make the rebels in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, feel the juſt rewards of rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduced this country to your majeſty's obedience, and conquered from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, to ſay to your majeſty then, as *David*'s general did to his maſter, *Come thou thyſelf, leſt this country be called by my name*; for, in all my actions, I am only in your majeſty's honour and intereſt, as becomes one that is to his laſt breath.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

Innerlochy, in Lochaber, Feb. 3, 1645.

Your majeſty's moſt humble moſt faithful and moſt obedient ſervant and ſubject,

MONTROSS.

The ſubſtance of Cromwell's *firſt conference with the members and officers concerning ſettling the nation.*

LENTHALL, the ſpeaker, began thus: "My lord, this company were every day to attend your

your excellency; and the buſineſs you are pleaſed to propound to us, is very neceſſary to be conſidered. God hath given marvellous ſucceſs to our forces under your command, and if we do not improve theſe mercies to ſome ſettlement, ſuch as may be to the honour of God, and the good of this commonwealth, we ſhall be very much blame-worthy.

Harriſon. I think that which my lord general hath propounded, is to adviſe us to a ſettlement both of our civil and ſpiritual liberties, and ſo that the mercies which the Lord hath given in to us, may not be caſt away; how this may be done is the principal queſtion.

Whitelock. It is a great queſtion indeed, and not ſuddenly to be reſolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of ſo many able and worthy perſons as I ſee here, ſhould be fruitleſs. I ſhould humbly offer in the firſt place, whether it be not requiſite to be underſtood, in what way this ſettlement is deſired, whether of an abſolute republick, or with any mixture of monarchy.

General *Cromwell.* My lord commiſſioner *Whitelock* hath put us upon the right point; and, indeed, it is my meaning, that we ſhould conſider, whether a republick, or a mix'd monarchical government will be beſt to be ſettled; and if any thing monarchical, then in whom that power ſhall be placed.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington.* I think a mix'd monarchical government will be moſt ſuitable to the laws and people of this nation; and if any monarchical I ſuppoſe we ſhall hold it moſt juſt to place that power in one of the ſons of the late king.

Fleetwood. I think that the queſtion, Whether an abſolute republick, or a mix'd monarchy, be beſt to be ſettled in this nation? will not be very eaſy to be determined.

Lord chief juſtice *St. John.* It will be found, that the government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchical power, will be very difficult

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to be ſo ſettled, as not to ſhake the foundation of our laws, and the liberties of the people.

Lenthall. It will breed a ſtrange confuſion to ſettle a government of this nation, without ſomething of monarchy.

Desborough. I beſeech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republick.

Whitelock. The laws of *England* are ſo interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to ſettle a government without ſomething of monarchy in it, would make ſo great an alteration in the proceedings of our law, that you have ſcarce time to rectify, nor can well foreſee the inconveniences that will ariſe thereby.

Whalley. I do not well underſtand matters of law; but it ſeems to me the beſt way, not to have any thing of monarchical power in the ſettlement of our government. And if we ſhould reſolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldeſt ſon hath been in arms againſt us, and his ſecond ſon is alſo our enemy.

Sir *Thomas Widdrington.* But the late king's third ſon, the duke of *Glouceſter*, is ſtill among us, and too young to have been in arms againſt us, or infected with the principles of our enemies.

Whitelock. There may be a day given for the king's eldeſt ſon, or for the duke of *York* his brother, to come in to the parliament; and upon ſuch terms as ſhall be thought proper, both to our civil and ſpiritual liberties, a ſettlement may be made with them.

General *Cromwell.* That will be a buſineſs of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with ſafety, and preſervation of our rights, both as *Engliſhmen* and chriſtians, that a ſettlement with ſomething of monarchical power in it would be very effectual.

A remarkable conference between general Cromwell *and* Whitelock *on the ſame ſubject.*

THE lord general *Cromwell* meeting with commiſſioner *Whitelock* one evening in the park, ſaluted him with more than ordinary courteſy, and deſired to have ſome private diſcourſe with him. *Whitelock* waited on him accordingly, and after ſome previous diſcourſe, the lord general proceeded thus: "Your lordſhip hath obſerved moſt truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings, that they are not rewarded according to their deſerts; and others, who have ventured leaſt, have gained moſt, and they have neither profit nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardſhips nor hazards for the commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their inſolence is very great, and their influence on the private ſoldiers works them to the like diſcontents and murmurings.

Then as for the members of parliament, the army begins to have a ſtrange diſtaſte againſt them, and I wiſh their pride and ambition, and ſelf-ſeeking, engroſſing all places of honour and profit to themſelves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of buſineſs, and deſigns to perpetuate themſelves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the inſtitution of parliaments, and their injuſtice and partiality in thoſe matters, and the ſcandalous lives of ſome of the chief of them: Theſe things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths with ill-will againſt them; nor can they be kept within the bounds of juſtice, law or reaſon, they themſelves being the ſupreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controuled or regulated by any other power, there being none ſuperior, or co-

co-ordinate with them: So that unleſs there be ſome authority and power ſo full and ſo high, as to reſtrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to theſe exorbitances, it will be impoſſible in all probability to prevent our ruin."

Whitelock anſwered: "I confeſs the danger we are in by theſe extravangancies and inordinate powers, is more than I doubt is generally apprehended; yet as to that part of it which concerns the ſoldiery, your excellency's power and commiſſion is ſufficient already to reſtrain and keep them in their due obedience; and, bleſſed be God, you have done it hitherto, and I doubt not but by your wiſdom you will be ſtiil able to do it. As to the members of parliament, I confeſs the greateſt difficulty lies there, your commiſſion being from them, and they being acknowledged the ſupreme power of the nation, ſubject to no controuls, nor allowing any appeal from them: Yet, I am ſure, your excellency will not look upon them as generally deprav'd; too many of them are much to blame in thoſe things you have mentioned, and many things have paſſed amongſt them altogether improper; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a deciſion."

The lord general reply'd, "There is little hopes of a good ſettlement to be made by them, really there is not; but a great deal of fear, that they will again deſtroy what the Lord hath graciouſly done for them and us. We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confuſion; and theſe men will help it on, if they be ſuffered to proceed in their ways; ſome courſe muſt be thought on to curb and reſtrain them, or we ſhall be ruined by them."

Upon this *Whitelock* ſaid, "We ourſelves have acknowledged them the ſupreme power, and taken our commiſſions and authority in the higheſt concernments for them; and how to reſtrain them after this, it will be difficult to find out a way for it."

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The general then put this ſhort queſtion to *Whitelock*, "What if a man ſhould take upon him to be king?" *Whitelock* ſaid, "He thought that the remedy would be worſe than the diſeaſe:" And the general aſking him, "Why he thought ſo," he proceeded: "As to your own perſon, the title of king would be of no advantage, becauſe you have the full kingly power in you already, concerning the militia, as you are general; as to the nomination of civil officers, thoſe whom you think fitteſt are ſeldom refuſed; and altho' you have no negative vote in the paſſing of laws, yet what you diſlike will not eaſily be carried; and the taxes are already ſettled, and in your power to diſpoſe of the money raiſed. And as to foreign affairs, tho' the ceremonial application be made to the parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad ſucceſs in it, is from your excellency; and particular ſollicitations of foreign miniſters are made to you only: So that I apprehend indeed leſs envy and danger, and pomp, but not leſs power and real opportunities of doing good in your being general, than would be if you had aſſumed the title of king."

Cromwell replied, "I have heard ſome of your profeſſion obſerve, that whoever is actually king by election, the acts done by him are as lawful and juſtifiable, as if done by a king, who had the crown by inheritance; and that by an act of parliament in king *Henry* the ſeveth's reign, it was ſafer for the people to act under a king, let his title be what it will, than under any other power.

Whitelock agreed to the legality, but much doubted the expediency of it; and being aſked, "What danger he apprehended in taking that title," he anſwered, "The danger, I think, would be this: One of the main points of controverſy betwixt us and our adverſaries, is, Whether the government of this nation ſhall be eſtabliſhed in monarchy, or in a free ſtate or commonwealth? And moſt of our friends have engaged with us, upon the hopes of having the govern-

government ſettled in a free ſtate, and to effect that, have undergone all their hazards and difficulties; they being perſuaded (though I think much miſtaken) that under the government of a commonwealth, they ſhall enjoy more liberty and right, both as to their ſpiritual and civil concernments, than they ſhall under monarchy, the preſſures and diſlike whereof are ſo freſh in their memories and ſufferings. Now, if your excellency ſhall take upon you the title of king, this ſtate of your cauſe will be thereby wholly determined, and monarchy eſtabliſhed in your perſon; and the queſtion will be no more, whether our government ſhall be by a monarch or by a free ſtate, but whether *Cromwell* or *Stuart* ſhall be our king and monarch? And that queſtion, wherein before ſo great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was univerſal, will by this means become in effect a private controverſy only; before it was national, what kind of government we ſhould have; now it will become particular, who ſhall be our governor, whether of the family of the *Stuarts*, or of the family of the *Cromwells*. Thus the ſtate of our controverſy being totally changed, all thoſe who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and conſiderable party) having their hopes therein fruſtrated, will deſert you; your hands will be weakened, your intereſt ſtreightened, and your cauſe in apparent danger to be ruined."

The general here acknowledged that *Whitelock* ſpoke reaſon, and aſked him, "What other thing he could propound, that might obviate the preſent dangers and difficulties wherein they were all involved." *Whitelock* confeſs'd, it would be the greateſt difficulty to find out ſuch an expedient; but ſaid, he had ſome things in his private thoughts upon this matter, which he fear'd were not fit or ſafe for him to communicate. But upon the general's preſſing him to diſſolve them, and promiſing there ſhould be no prejudice come to him by any private diſcourſe

betwixt them, and aſſuring him, he ſhould never betray his friend, and that he ſhould take kindly whatever he ſhould offer: *Whitelock* began thus: "Give me leave then firſt to conſider your excellency's condition: You are invironed with ſecret enemies. Upon your ſubduing the publick enemy, the officers of your army account themſelves all victors, and to have had an equal ſhare in the conqueſt with you. The ſucceſs which God hath given us, hath not a little elated their minds, and many of them are buſy, and of turbulent ſpirits, and are not without their deſigns how they may diſmount your excellency, and ſome of themſelves get up into the ſaddle; how they may bring you down, and ſet up themſeles: They want not counſel and encouragement herein, it may be, from ſome members of the parliament, who may be jealous of your power and greatneſs, leſt you ſhould grow too high for them, and in time over-maſter them; and they will plot to bring you down firſt, or to clip your wings."

The general upon this thanked *Whitelock* for ſo fully conſidering his condition: "It is, ſaid he, a teſtimony of your love to me and care of me, and and you have rightly conſidered it; and I may ſay, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved and all our friends, and thoſe that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you: Beſides this, the cauſe itſelf may poſſibly receive ſome diſadvantage, by the ſtrugglings and contentions among ourſelves. But what, ſir, are your thoughts for the preventing of thoſe miſchiefs that hang over our heads?"

Whitelock then proceeded: Pardon me, ſir, in the next place a little to conſider the condition of the king of *Scots*. This prince being now by your valour, and the ſucceſs which God hath given to the parliament, and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms, whereby their loſt hopes may be revived

vived of his being reſtored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may ſecure yourſelf and your friends, and their fortunes; you may make yourſelf and your poſterity as great and powerful, to all human probability, as ever any ſubject was, and provide for your friends; you may put ſuch limits to monarchical power, as will ſecure our ſpiritual and civil liberties, and you may ſecure the cauſe in which we are all engaged; and this may be effectually done, by having the power of the militia continue in yourſelf, and whom you ſhall agree upon after you. I propoſe therefore for your excellency to ſend to the king of *Scots*, and have a private treaty with him for that purpoſe."

The general hereupon told him, he thought he hadmuch reaſon for what he propoſed: "But, ſaid he, it is a matter of ſo high importance and difficulty, that it deſerves more time of conſideration and debate, than is at preſent allowed us; we ſhall therefore take a farther time to diſcourſe of it.

Whitelock ſays, "With this the general broke off, and went to other company, and ſo into *Whitehall*, ſeeming by his countenance and carriage diſpleaſed with what I had ſaid: Yet he never objected it againſt me in any publick meeting afterwards; only his carriage towards me from that time was altered, and his adviſing with me not ſo frequent and intimate as before.

IN the inſtrument of government, ſubſcribed the ſixteenth of *December* 1653, by *Cromwell* when he was lord protector, it was declared that the members for the future be thus elected, to the end that the kingdom might be more equally repreſented.

Bedford, county 5, town 1.
Berks, county 5, Abingdon 1, Reading 1.
Bucks, county 5, Buckingkam 1, Aileſbury 1, Wiccomb 1.

Cambridge,

Cambridge, county 4, Iſle of Ely 2, Cambridge town 1, univerſity 1.
Cheſter, county 4, city 1.
Cornwall, county 8, Launceſton 1. Truro 1, Penryn 1, Eaſtlow aud Weſtlow 1.
Cumberland, counry 2, Carliſle 1.
Derby, county 4, town 1.
Devon, county 11, Exeter 2, Plymouth 2, Dartmouth, Clifton and Harderneſs 1, Tottenneſs 1, Tiverton 1, Honiton 1.
Dorſet, county 6, Dorcheſter 1, Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis 1, Lyme-Regis 1, Pool 1.
Durham, county 2, city 1.
Eſſex, county 13, Maldee 1, Colcheſter 2.
Glouceſter, county 5, city 2, Tewkſbury 1, Cirenceſter 1.
Hereford, county 4, city 1, Lempſter 1.
Hertford, county 5, town 1, St. Albans 1.
Huntingdon, county 3, town 1.
Kent, county 11, Canterbury 2, Rocheſter 1, Maidſtone 1, Dover 1, Sandwich 1, Queenborough 1.
Lancaſter, county 4, town 1, Preſton 1, Liverpool 1, Mancheſter 1.
Leiceſter, county 4, town 2.
Lincoln, county 10, city 2, Boſton 1, Grantham 1, Stamford 1, Great Grimſby 1.
Middleſex, county 4, London 6, Weſtminſter 2.
Monmouth, county 3.
Norfolk, county 10, Norwich 2, Lynn 2, Yarmouth 2.
Northampton, county 6, town 1, Peterborough 1.
Nottingham, county 4, town 2.
Northumberland, county 3, Newcaſtle 1, Berwick 1.
Oxon, county 5, city 1, univerſity 1, Woodſtock 1.
Rutland, county 2.
Salop, county 4, Shrewſbury 2, Bridgnorth 1, Ludlow 1.

Stafford,

Stafford, county 3, town 1, Litchfield 1, Newcaſtle 1.
Somerſet, county 11, Briſtol 2, Taunton 2, Bath 1, Wells 1, Bridgwater 1.
Southampton, county 8, town 1, Wincheſter 1, Portſmouth 1, Wight Iſle 2, Andover 1.
Suffolk, county 10, Ipſwich 2, Bury St. Edmonds 2, Dunwich 1, Sudbury 1.
Surry, county 6, Southwark 2, Guilford 1, Rygate 1.
Suſſex, county 9, Chicheſter 1, Lewes 1, Eaſt-Grimſtead 1, Arundel 1, Rye 1.
Weſtmoreland, county 2.
Warwick, county 4, town 1, Coventry 2.
Worceſter, county 5, city 2.
Wells, county 10, New Sarum 2, Marlborough 1, Devizes 1.
York, Weſt-Riding 6, Eaſt-Riding 4, North-Riding 4, city 2, Hull 1, Beverley 1, Scarborough 1, Richmond 1, Leeds 1, Hallifax 1.
Angleſea, county 2.
Brecon, county 2.
Cardigan, county 2.
Caermarthen, county 2.
Denbigh, county 2.
Flint, county 2.
Glamorgan, county 2, Cardiffe 1.
Merioneth, county 2.
Pembroke, county 3, Haverford Weſt 1.
Radnor, county 2.

A Debate between the committee of the houſe of commons in 1657, *and* Oliver Cromwell, *upon the humble petition and advice of the parliament, by which he was deſired to aſſume the title of* KING.

ON *April* the 11th [according to *Whitelock*, on the 4th] the protector was attended by the committee, appointed by the parliament, to receive and anſwer his doubts and ſcruples relating to their requeſt

requeſt and advice, that he would aſſume the title of king; but the protector being unwilling to diſcloſe his own ſentiments, till he was informed of the reaſons by which the parliament had been determined, the following arguments were offered by the committe, which conſiſted of one hundered members; thoſe who were deputed to treat on this ſubject, being *Oliver St. John*, lord chief juſtice. Lord chief juſtice *Glynné*. Mr. *Whitelock*, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. Mr. *Liſle*, Mr. *Fines*, commiſſioners of the great ſeal. Lord *Broghill*. Sir *Charles Wolſeley*. Sir *Richard Onſlow*. Colonel *Jones*.

May it pleaſe your highneſs,

IT is with great ſatisfaction, that we ſee ourſelves deputed by the parliament to confer with your highneſs upon the ſettlement of the publick tranquility, and the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a form of government as may beſt promote the great ends for which government was inſtituted, for which we have been ſo long lahouring, and for which we have hazarded our fortunes and our lives. We doubt not of finding your highneſs ready to concur in any lawful meaſures, that can contribute to the happineſs of the publick, to the pacification of thoſe differences that have ſo divided them, and to the perpetuity of that freedom which has been ſo dearly purchaſed, and ſo ſucceſsfully defended: And we cannot forbear to inform you, that, in our opinion, in the opinion of the parliament, and of the people who are repreſented by it, theſe purpoſes cannot be effectually proſecuted by your highneſs, without aſſuming not the office only, but the title likewiſe of king.

Your highneſs may demand why, having already made you protector, inveſted you with the office of chief magiſtrate, and entruſted you with the care of our liberties, our commerce, and our honour, we are now grown weary of our inſtitution, and deſire

to

to reſtore a title, which a long ſeries of wicked adminiſtration has made it proper to abrogate? To this we can eaſily anſwer, That our requeſt is the requeſt of the people, the people whoſe intereſt is chiefly to be conſidered, and to whom it is your higheſt honour to be a faithful ſervant: That they have a right to judge for themſelves, to promote their own happineſs by their own meaſures, and to diſtinguiſh their ſervants by what name or titles they ſhall judge moſt proper, cannot be denied. Monarchy has always been thought by this nation, the moſt eligible form of government, and the title of *King* has been always conſidered by them as eſſential to it. The office has never been complained of, nor the title changed, even by thoſe parliaments that have made the ſtricteſt enquiries into the defects of our conſtitutions, and have had power to reform whatever they diſliked. The office in general was always regarded as uſeful and neceſſary, and the title was reverenced, when the conduct of him that held it was condemned. It was never prudent to make needleſs alterations, becauſe we are already acquainted with all the conſequences of known eſtabliſhments and antient forms; but new methods of adminiſtration may produce evils which the moſt prudent cannot foreſee, nor the moſt diligent rectify: But leaſt of all are ſuch changes to be made, as draw after them the neceſſity of endleſs alterations, and extend their effects thro' the whole frame of government.

That the change of the title *King* to that of *Protector*, or any other, would affect the remoteſt links of ſubordination, and alter the whole conſtitution, is evident, at the moſt ſuperficial and tranſient view of the laws and cuſtoms of the nation. Every officer of juſtice acts in the king's name, and by the king's authority, an authority that gives life and efficacy to law, and makes every ſentence valid and binding. In all criminal caſes the law knows not any

any proſecutor but the king, nor can inflict any puniſhment but in his name.

If it be urged, that the judges have already taken their commiſſions in the name of the lord protector, and ſuppoſed his authority and that of the king to be the ſame, let it be remembered that the judges themſelves were far from concurring in their opinions; they whoſe province is to juſtify the proceedings of the government to the people, were not ſatisfied themſelves, and even thoſe that complied with leaſt reluctance, pleaded rather the reſiſtleſs force of neceſſity, than the authority of law, or the evidence of reaſon; and let us not reduce our judges to ſay, when either the captious or conſcientious enquirer ſhall demand the reaſons of their conduct, that they act not as they ought, but as they muſt.

In deſiring you to aſſume this title, the parliament has regard not only to conſcience but prudence, not only to the people's happineſs, but to your ſafety. The office of protector is new and unheard-of till now, and by conſequence unknown to the law, nor underſtood with regard to its relation to other parts of the conſtitution; ſo that neither the duties of the protector are known by the people, nor thoſe of the people by the protector; ſuch ignorance and uncertainty can produce nothing but diſputes, murmurs, and confuſions.

The knowledge of our duty is neceſſarily previous to the practice of it; and how can any man know his duty to a magiſtrate to whoſe authority he is a ſtranger? The limits of obedience to a protector are ſettled by no law, nor is there any ſtatute in being that condemns any attempt to ſhake off his authority. For this reaſon it is not without long heſitation and importunate perſuaſion, that juries are prevailed upon to aſſign the name, and fix the guilt of treaſon to any conſpiracies againſt your life or government. The king's authority is ſupported by the law, and his perſon is exempt from violation; but the protector's office has no ſuch ſanction,

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and his power may therefore be, if not juſtly, yet legally reſiſted; nor is his perſon ſecured any otherwiſe than that of the meaneſt ſubject.

The protector is, indeed, in a ſtate of greater difficulty and embaraſſment than any other member of the community; he is obliged to obey the laws, but with regard to his office is not protected by them; he is reſtrained by the law from any exorbitant exertions of power, but not ſupported by it in the due exerciſe of his authority; thoſe who act by the protector's commiſſion, can receive from him no other power than ſuch as he is inveſted with, a power which the laws of the nation, thoſe laws which on all occaſions every man muſt appeal, diſavow, and reject: So that no man can be obliged by law to admit the determinations of the courts as obligatory and concluſive; and how great the number is of thoſe who deny any moral or conſcientious reaſon for obedience to the preſent government, your highneſs needs not to be informed. Theſe men, however, at preſent ſubjected, are at leaſt formidable by their multitudes, and it is always more eligible to procure a chearful and willing, than conſtrain an involuntary and reluctant obedience. All theſe men allow the authority of regal government, and profeſs their willingneſs to ſubmit to it; ſo that all opinions unite in this point, and all parties concur to make a compliance with this requeſt neceſſary to your highneſs.

Nor is it only for your own ſake that this deſire is warmly preſs'd, but for the ſecurity of thoſe whoſe endeavours have contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the preſent goverment, or ſhall hereafter act by your authority. All thoſe who receive commiſſions from the king, by whatever means exalted to the throne, are ſecured from proſecution and puniſhment in any change of affairs, by the ſtatute of the eleventh of *Henry* the ſeventh; but the name of protector can confer no ſuch ſecurity, and therefore the cautious and vigilant will always decline your ſervice, or proſecute your affairs with diffidence and timidity,

even the honeſt and ſcrupulous will be fearful of engaging where they have nothing but their own opion to ſet in balance againſt the law; and the artful and the avaritious, the diſcontented and the turbulent, will never ceaſe to contrive a revolution by which they may revenge the wrongs that they imagine themſelves to have received, and riot in the ſpoils of their enemies.

The preſent alienation of the crown of theſe realms from him who pretends to claim them by his birth, may be compared to a divorce, which may, by the mutual conſent of both parties, be ſet aſide. It is therefore neceſſary, to prevent any future reunion, that the crown be conſigned to another.

Were the reaſons for your aſſumption of this title leſs weighty than they appear, the deſire of parliament ought to add to their efficacy. It is not to be conceived that we are able to aſſign all the arguments that might be formed by the united and concurrent wiſdom of ſo numerous and diſcerning an aſſembly, an aſſembly deputed by the whole people to judge and act for them. The deſires of a parliament are never to be conſidered as ſudden ſtarts of imagination; the deſire of the parliament, is the voice of the people; nor can it, indeed, be now diſregarded, without breaking all the rules of policy, and neglecting the firſt opportunity of reinſtating the nation in tranquility. The parliament, the only authority which the nation reverences, has now firſt attempted to eſtabliſh a legal and ſettled government, by conferring on your highneſs the title of KING, which you therefore cannot refuſe without encouraging the enemies of our government, by ſhewing not only, that the chief magiſtrate of the nation bears a title unknown to the law, but even ſuch as is diſproved by the parliament, that parliament which himſelf called.

But the parliament is far from deſiring that authority alone ſhould enforce their deſire, for which they have ſo many and ſo ſtrong reaſons to alledge; nor

nor are their own reaſons alone to be conſidered, but the authority of all former parliaments, who have ever been to the laſt degree cautious of admiting the leaſt change in any thing that related to the conſtituent part of our government.

When king *James*, after his acceſſion to the crown of *England*, was deſirous of changing his titie to that of king of *Great Britain*, the parliament refuſed to admit of any alteration in the regal ſtile; not that they diſcovered any bad conſequences from it, but becauſe they did not know how far it might affect the conſtitution, nor to what farther alterations it might make way.

In the late parliament, when it was propoſed, that the name of parliament ſhould be changed to that of repreſentative of the people, the propoſal was for the ſame reaſon diſapproved. *Nolumus leges les Angliæ mutari* was a fixed principle of the antient barons, and certainly nothing can ſhew greater weakneſs than to change without proſpect of advantage. Long preſcription is a ſufficient argument in favour of a practice againſt which nothing can be alledged; nor is it ſufficient to affirm, that the alteration may be made without inconvenience, for alteration itſelf is an evil, and ought to be balanced by ſome equivalent advantage, and bad conſequences may ariſe tho' we do not foreſee them.

But the conſequences of the change now propos'd are neither remote nor doubtful; by ſubſtituting the name and office of protector in the place of thoſe of king, we ſhall immediately alarm the people, we ſhall awaken the jealouſy of the wiſe, and the fears of the timorous; there will be indeed ſome reaſons for apprehenſion and ſuſpicion, which deſigning men will not fail to exaggerate for their own purpoſes. The firſt queſtion that will naturally ariſe will be, What is this new office of protector, upon what law is it founded? and what are the limits of his authority? To theſe enquiries, what anſwer can be returned? Shall it be ſaid, that his authority is independent,

pendent, deſpotick, and unlimited? Where then is the liberty for which the wiſeſt and beſt men of this nation has been ſo long contending? What is the advantage of all our battles and all our victories? If we ſay that the authority of the protector is bounded by the laws, how ſhall we prove the aſſertion? What law ſhall we be able to cite, by which the duties of the protector to the people, or thoſe of the people to the protector, are marked out?

This then is the great reaſon upon which the parliament have made their requeſt. The people are to be governed according to the law, and the law acknowledges no ſupreme magiſtrate but the KING. It is neceſſary to the good adminiſtration of the ſtate, that the duty both of governors and ſubjects ſhould be known, limited, and ſtated, that neither the governors may oppreſs the people, nor the people rebel againſt the governors; the parliament therefore deſires that the office and title of KING may be reſtored as they are underſtood in their whole extent, and in all their relations. Every man is well informed when the king acts in conformity to the law, and when he tranſgreſſes the limits of his authority. But of the power of the protector they know nothing, and therefore will ſuſpect every thing; nor indeed can their ſuſpicions be reaſonably cenſured; for till they are informed what are the claims of this new magiſtrate, how can they know their own rights?

If your highneſs ſhould injure, or oppreſs any man, to what law can he appeal? He may, indeed, diſcover, that the king could not have attacked his property, but will never be able to prove, that the protector is ſubject to the ſame reſtraint; ſo that neither your highneſs is protected by the law when you do right, nor the ſubject redreſſed if you ſhould do wrong.

The end for which monarchy has been for ſome time ſuſpended, is the happineſs of the people, and this

this end can only be attained by reviving it. The queſtion may indeed be brought to a ſhort iſſue, for either the office of protector is the ſame with that of KING, or ſomething different from it; if it be the ſame, let us not be ſo weak as to impoſe upon our ſelves, or ſo diſhoneſt as to endeavour to deceive others, by rejecting the name while we retain the thing; let not an averſion to an idle ſound, to a name reverenced by the people, and approved by the parliament, incite you to reject the petition of the whole nation, to raiſe difficulties in the diſtribution of juſtice, and awaken themſelves in the minds of all thoſe who attend more to names than things, who will always be the greateſt number, and whoſe ſatisfaction ought therefore to be endeavoured by all lawful compliances.

It is a certain truth, that old inſtitutions are, merely becauſe they are old, preferable to new plans, in their nature equally good; becauſe a very ſmall part of mankind judges from any other principle than cuſtom, and it will be long before new titles attract their regard, eſteem, and veneration.

But if the office of protector be not only in its denomination, but in nature alſo, abſolutely new, we are then in a ſtate of uncertainty, confuſion and miſery; we have the bounds of his authority to ſettle, the rights of parliament to ſtate, all our laws to new model, and our whole ſyſtem of government to conſtitute afreſh. An endleſs and inſuperable taſk, from which we entreat your highneſs to exempt us, by aſſuming, according to the advice of parliament, the office and title of KING.

The protector having deſired ſome time to conſider the arguments that had been offered, returned on *April* the 13th (the 7th, as may be collected from *Whitelock*) his anſwer to this effect:

My Lord,

THOUGH I am far from imagining myſelf qualified to controvert a queſtion of ſo great importance,

tance, with the learned members of this committee, eſpecially as the arguments have been founded chiefly upon the laws and antient conſtitution of this nation, with which I have had no opportunity to be well acquainted; yet, ſince it may be reaſonably required of me either to yield to your reaſons, or to aſſign the difficulties and objections that hinder me from yielding, I ſhall attempt to conſider and diſcuſs them diligently and diſtinctly.

It has been urged, with great appearance of ſtrength, that the title of KING is the only title by which the laws acknowledge the chief magiſtrate of this nation; that the title cannot be changed without ſuppoſing a change in the office; and that a change in the office would be a dangerous innovation, productive of debate, jealouſy, and ſuſpicion; that the limits of this new-erected authority would be unknown to the people, as being unſettled by the law; that the people are beſt pleaſed with inſtitutions which they have long known; and that therefore it would neither contribute to the public happineſs, nor to our own ſecurity, to obtrude upon the nation titles and offices either new in reality or in appearance.

The apprehenſion that the parliaments have always expreſſed of changes and innovations, has been made appear by two remarkable inſtances; and to ſhew the neceſſity of reſtoring the title of KING it has been alledged, that not only the dangers and diſcontents that novelty produces will be eſcaped by it, but that both the chief magiſtrate, and thoſe that act by his authority, will be more effectually protected by the laws of the nation.

Theſe are the chief arguments that have dwelt upon my memory. Arguments doubtleſs of force, and ſuch as do not admit of an eaſy confutation, but which, however, in my opinion, prove rather the expediency than neceſſity of reviving monarchy under its antient title, and as ſuch I ſhall conſider them; for where abſolute inevitable neceſſity is contended for, the controverſy will be very ſhort; abſolute

ſolute neceſſity will ſoon appear by the impoſſibility of ſhewing any method of avoiding it; and where any expedient may be propoſed that may probably produce the ſame effects, neceſſity vaniſhes at once. Very few actions are really neceſſary, moſt of them are only expedient, or comparatively preferable to other meaſures that may be taken. Where there is room for compariſons, there is room for diverſity of opinions.

That the title of king is not neceſſary, how long ſoever it may have been in uſe, or what regard ſoever may have been paid it, is plain from the very nature of language; words have not their import from the natural power of particular combinations of characters, or from the real efficacy of certain ſounds, but from the conſent of thoſe that uſe them, and arbitrarily annex certain ideas to them, which might have been ſignified with equal propriety by any other. Whoever originally diſtinguiſhed the chief magiſtrate by the appellation of king, might have aſſigned him any other denomination, and the power of the people can never be loſt or impaired. If that might once have been done, it may be done now; for ſurely words are of no other value than their ſignifications, and the name of king can have no other uſe than any other word of the ſame import.

That the law may be as regularly executed, and as chearfully obeyed, tho' the name of king be entirely rejected, is, in my opinion, plain, from the experience both of the time in which I have adminiſtered the government, and of that when the execution of the laws was entruſted to the (*cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ*) keepers of the liberties of *England*, in which juſtice has been as regularly, as equally, and as expeditiouſly diſtributed, as in the happieſt days of the moſt celebrated kings. The judges did, indeed, heſitate for ſome time about the legality of their commiſſions, but a ſhort deliberation freed them from their doubts; and certainly their authority

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ought to be of weight, as they have been excelled by none of their predeceſſors in learning or abilities.

That I have never interrupted the courſe of juſtice, all the judges can atteſt, and, I believe, affirm with equal confidence, that it has not been more obſtructed by any other impediment than in former times; ſo that the title of KING appears by no means neceſſary to the efficacy of the law.

Such obedience has been paid to the ſupreme magiſtracy under two different denominations, neither of which were eſtabliſhed by a parliamentary ſanction; and why ſhould we imagine any other title would obtain leſs regard, when confirmed by the power to which the title that you now contend for owes its validity?

There was once a time when every office, and the title annexed to that office, was newly invented and introduced; from what did it derive its legality, and its importance, at its firſt introduction, but from general conſent? The great, the binding, the inviolable law, is the conſent of the people; without this, nothing is right, and ſupported by this, nothing can be wrong. Antiquity adds nothing to this great ſanction, nor can novelty take away its authority. What is now determined by the people, or by their proper repreſentatives, is of equal validity with the earlieſt inſtitutions; and whether they will be governed by a ſupreme magiſtrate under the title of KING, or any other, the government is equally lawful.

As therefore neither reaſon nor experience can prove, that this title is abſolutely eſſential to the due adminiſtration of juſtice, it is proper to enquire how far it may be convenient, what proportions of advantage or detriment will ariſe from it. In this enquiry I hope that the honeſty of my intentions, and the purity of my heart, will not be miſtaken. I hope that neither hypocriſy nor artifice will be imputed to my open declarations, and ſincere profeſſions; declarations and profeſſions which I make

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not haſtily and negligently, but with care, reflection, and deliberate caution, in the preſence of the Almighty Power, by whoſe providence I have been guided, and in whoſe preſence I ſtand. I hope it will not be imagined, that I reject the title of KING from fondneſs for that of protector, a name and an office to which I was far from aſpiring, and which I only did not refuſe when it was offered me; nor did I then accept it as imagining myſelf qualified to govern others, who find it ſufficiently difficult to regulate my own conduct, nor even from a confidence that I ſhould be able much to benefit the nation; the only motive by which I was induced to engage in ſo arduous and invidious an employment, was the deſire of obviating thoſe evils which I ſaw impending over the nation, and to prevent the revival of thoſe diſputes in which ſo much blood had been already ſhed, and which muſt inevitably involve us in endleſs confuſion.

Having theſe proſpects before me, I thought it not lawful to reject an opportunity of preventing calamities, even where there was no hope of promoting happineſs; I therefore could not but accept, what at the ſame time I could not ardently deſire: For nothing can deſerve to be purſued with eagerneſs and aſſiduity but the power of doing good, of conferring real and ſolid benefits upon mankind. And ſurely, while the only end for which greatneſs and authority are deſired, is publick good, thoſe deſires are at leaſt lawful, and perhaps worthy of applauſe; they are certainly lawful, if he that entertains them has, by a long and diligent examination of his own heart, an examination ſerious and ſincere, without any of thoſe fallacious arts by which the conſcience is too frequently deceived, ſatisfied himſelf that his ultimate views are not his own honour and intereſt, but the welfare of mankind, and the promotion of virtue, and that his advancement will contribute to them.

Having informed you by what means I was rais'd to the protectorſhip, and for what reaſons I accepted

it, I may properly proceed to deliver my own ſentiments of the office in which I have engag'd, that it may appear, from my own notions of my preſent ſituation, how little it can be preferred by me, on account of any perſonal views, that which the parliament now offers; and that whatever arguments I ſhall make uſe of in this queſtion are not dictated by private intereſt, but by a ſincere and unfeigned regard for the happineſs of the nation.

I have often conſidered, with a degree of attention ſuitable to the importance of the Enquiry, what is the nature of my preſent office, and what is the purpoſe which I am principally to have in view; and could never attain to any farther determination, than that I was the chief conſtable of the nation, and was entruſted with the care of the public peace. This truſt I have endeavoured faithfully to diſcharge, and have been ſo far ſucceſsful, that peace has never been long interrupted, and whatever miſeries have been feared or felt, we have enjoy'd the bleſſing of quiet, a bleſſing, in my opinion, too valuable to be hazarded by any unneceſſary or inconſiderate innovations, and for the ſake of which I think it therefore neceſſary to decline the title which is now offered me.

This argument will not, perhaps, be immediately underſtood; nor is it eaſy for me to make it intelligible without giving an account of ſome paſt tranſactions, too long to be excuſed but by the importance of the ſubject.

At the beginning of the late war between the king and parliament, I obſerved that in all encounters the royaliſts prevailed, and our men, tho' ſuperior in number, or other advantages, were ſhamefully routed, diſperſed, and ſlaughtered; and diſcourſing upon this ſubject with my worthy friend mr. *John Hampden*, a name remembered by moſt of you with reverence, I told him, that this calamity, formidable as it was, admitted, in my opinion, of a remedy, and that by a proper choice of ſoldiers the ſtate of

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the war might ſoon be changed. You are, ſays I, in comparing our forces with thoſe of the enemy, to regard, in the firſt place, the difference between their education and habitual ſentiments. Our followers are, for the moſt part, the gleanings of the loweſt rank of the people, ſerving-men diſcarded, and mechanicks without employments, men uſed to inſults and ſervility from their cradles, without any principles of honour, or incitements to over-balance the ſenſe of immediate danger. Their army is crouded with men whoſe profeſſion is courage, who have been by their education fortified againſt cowardice, and have been eſteemed throughout their lives in proportion to their bravery. All their officers are men of quality, and their ſoldiers the ſons of gentlemen, men animated by a ſenſe of reputation, who had rather die than ſupport the ignominy of having turned their backs. Can it be ſuppoſed, that education has no force, and that principles exert no influence upon actions? Can men that fight only for pay, without any ſenſe of honour from conqueſt, or diſgrace from being overcome, withſtand the charge of gentlemen, of men that act upon principles of honour, and confirm themſelves and each other in their reſolutions by reaſon and reflection? To motives ſuch as theſe, what can be oppoſed by our men that may exalt them to the ſame degree of gallantry, and animate them with the ſame contempt of danger and of death? Zeal for religion is the only motive more active and powerful than theſe, and that is in our power to inculcate. Let us chuſe men warm with regard for their religion, men who ſhall think it an high degree of impiety to fly before the wicked and profane, to forſake the cauſe of heaven, and prefer ſafety to truth; and our enemies will quickly be ſubdued.

This advice was not otherwiſe diſapproved than as difficult to be put in execution. This difficulty I imagined myſelf in ſome degree able to ſurmount, and applied all my induſtry to levy ſuch men as were

were animated with the zeal of religion, and to inflame their fervour; nor did the effect deceive my expectation; for when theſe men were led to the field, no veterans could ſtand before them, no obſtructions could retard, or danger affright them; and to theſe men are to be attributed the victories that we have gained, and the peace that we enjoy.

Of this account there may be many uſes; it may contribute to confirm us in our perſeverance in this cauſe, that it has hitherto ſucceeded by the endeavours of good men; it may tend to the confirmation of religious men in their purpoſes of an holy life, that thoſe principles are more efficacious and powerful than any other; but with regard to the preſent diſpute, I mean only to obſerve how highly theſe men are to be valued, how much of our regard they may juſtly claim, and how weak it would be to alienate them from us, by reviving a title which they have been taught to abhor.

It may be urged, that to refuſe obedience to lawful authority, under whatſoever name, is not conſiſtent with the character of piety; and that to abhor the title and office of KING, the title lawfully conferred, and the office juſtly adminiſtered, is not ſo much religion as prejudice, and rather folly than conſcience: Nor can I deny either of theſe aſſertions; I am far from thinking it lawful to with-hold obedience from lawful government, and freely confeſs, that to reverence or deteſt a mere name, is equally weak. And I am confident, that thoſe good men of whom I have been ſpeaking, will obey the legiſlative power, by what title ſoever exerciſed; and with regard to their ſcruples, however unreaſonable, it is my opinion, that they who have done and ſuffered ſo much, deſerve that ſome indulgence ſhould be ſhewed, even to their weakneſs, and that they ſhould not be grieved with imaginary hardſhips, or perplexed with tormenting ſcruples without neceſſity; their readineſs to comply with authority is a plea for tenderneſs and regard, which will contribute

bute to unite their endeavours with ours, for t ſuppreſſion of thoſe who ſeem to look upon it their duty to oppoſe all government, and whoſe opinions lead them to imagine all human authority impious and deteſtable.

The reaſon for which theſe men will be offended at the revival of the title and office of KING, a reaſon which, I confeſs, has ſome weight with me, and may perhaps more ſtrongly affect weaker minds, if any ſuch there are, is this: We are, indeed, principally to conſult the ſcriptures as the rule of our conſciences, but we are likewiſe to have regard to the viſible hand of God, and the diſpenſations of providence, by which the ſcripture may be often very clearly and uſefully explained; in theſe explications, indeed, we may eaſily be deceived; and therefore ought not to depend upon them with a preſumptious degree of confidence, but to uſe them with caution, modeſty, and a careful attention to every circumſtance that may rectify our miſtakes; but we certainly ought not to paſs great events over without reflection, obſervation, or regard.

When, in conformity to this rule, I conſider the late revolution that has happened in this nation, and ſee that not only the royal family is ſubdued and exiled, but the name and title eradicated by the providence of God, it appears in me no leſs than preſumption to attempt to reſtore it. How juſt theſe proceedings were with regard to thoſe that tranſacted them, I am not now to diſpute; nor need I ſay how I would act, were the ſame circumſtances to recur: I only deſire you to remember, that neither by me, nor by thoſe who inveſted me with this authority, was the title aboliſhed, but by the long parliament. It is ſufficient for my purpoſe to remark, that the title was not laid aſide by caprice, or accidental diſguſt, but after ten years war, by long and ſober deliberation; and what is this leſs than the hand of God? When I ſee that by theſe inſtruments of vengeance he has not only expelled the family,

mily, but blaſted the title; would not an attempt to reſtore it be like an endeavour to build up *Jericho*, to defeat the deſigns of providence, and oppoſe the great Ruler of the univerſe?

Theſe are the reaſons for which I think the office and title of KING neither neceſſary nor expedient; whether they ought to convince you, I am not able to determine, nor wiſh they ſhould have any force which their own weight does not give them. In the deſire of a firm and ſettled form of government, the great end for which this propoſal is made, I concur with the parliament, and hope that no reaſons or reſolutions of mine will in the leaſt tend to obſtruct it; for a firm and legal eſtabliſhment, as it is the only method by which happineſs and liberty can be ſecured, is equally the concern of every wiſe and honeſt man; and whoever oppoſes it, deſerves nothing leſs than to be mark'd out as an enemy to his country. I would not wiſh, that this great deſign ſhould be fruſtrated by a compliance with my inclinations; for ſettlement and order are ſurely neceſſary, whether royalty be neceſſary or not; whatever may contribute to this, I entreat you ſteadily to purſue; nor ſhould I adviſe even to deny that gratification to the particular prejudices or paſſions of private men, that may ſecure their affections to good for the advancement of it: For my part, could I multiply my perſon, or dilate my power, I ſhould dedicate myſelf wholly to this great end, in the proſecution of which I ſhall implore the bleſſing of God upon your counſels and endeavours.

On the 13*th of* April (*according to* Whitelock) *the committee attended the protector, and offered the following reply:*

AS the requeſt of the parliament is of too great importance to be either granted or refuſed without long deliberation, we have thought it neceſſary to attend your highneſs a ſecond time, that this great queſtion

queſtion, after having been on both ſides attentively conſidered, may at laſt be diligently diſcuſs'd, and determin'd with that caution which is always to be uſed, where the happineſs and tranquility of the publick is evidently concerned.

That the title of KING is not abſolutely and phyſically neceſſary to government, will be readily admitted; for, if government can ſubſiſt an hour, or a day, without it, no man can affirm that it is abſolutely neceſſary. Neceſſity in this ſenſe has no place in political tranſactions. Laws themſelves are not abſolutely neceſſary; the will of the prince may ſupply them, and the wiſdom and vigilance of a good prince make a people happy without them. Natural neceſſity allows no room for diſputation, being always evident beyond controverſy, and powerful beyond reſiſtance; therefore in all debates of this kind, by neceſſity, moral neceſſity is to be underſtood, which is nothing more than a high degree of expedience, or inconteſtable reaſons of preference.

That the title of KING is in this ſenſe neceſſary to the government of theſe nations, may perhaps be proved; but an attempt to prove it ſeems in the preſent ſtate of the queſtion ſuperfluous, becauſe the requeſt of the parliament is in itſelf a reaſon ſufficient to over-balance all that has been urged in oppoſition to it. And it may therefore rather be required of your highneſs to prove the neceſſity of rejecting that title which the whole people of *England* intreat you to accept.

For nothing leſs than neceſſity ought to be put in balance with the deſires of the whole people legally repreſented: But how can ſuch neceſſity be evinced? Or, whence can it ariſe? That either monarchy, or any other form of government, is contrary to the revealed will of God, cannot be pretended. No kind of government is unlawful in its own nature, nor is any one dignified with a higher degree of the Divine approbation than another; political inſtitutions are like other contracts, in which ſuch ſtipulations

lations are like to be made as the contracting parties ſhall judge conducive to their happineſs, and they muſt therefore vary according to the various opinions of thoſe that make them; but when made they are all obligatory and inviolable. There is therefore no neceſſity from the divine commands either of accepting this title, or refuſing it; there is nothing in the name of a king either ſacred, as ſome have had the weakneſs to aſſert, or profane, as others have imagined with no better reaſon. The neceſſity on either ſide muſt therefore be accidental, and ariſe from circumſtances and relations. And ſurely the preſcription of many hundred years, the authority of the law, and the approbation of the people, are circumſtances that will conſtitute the higheſt degree of political neceſſity.

That monarchy under the title of KING has all the ſanction that antiquity can give, is too evident for controverſy; but it may perhaps be queſtioned how far the ſanction of antiquity deſerves to be regarded. The long continuance of any practice, which might have been altered or diſuſed at pleaſure, is at leaſt a proof that no inconveniencies have been found to ariſe from it; and a cuſtom not in itſelf detrimental becomes every day better eſtabliſhed, becauſe the other part of life will be regulated with relation to it, till what was merely arbitrary at firſt, appears in time eſſential and indiſpenſable. The nation might doubtleſs, when government was firſt inſtituted here, have choſen any other conſtitution no leſs lawfully than that of monarchy; but monarchy, either by deliberation or chance, was eſtabliſhed, and the laws have all been made in conſequence of that eſtabliſhment, and ſo ſtrongly connected with it, that they muſt ſtand or fall together. The king is obliged to act in conformity to the laws, and the law can only act by commiſſion from the king. The prerogative of our monarchs, and the authority of our laws, it has been already the taſk of ſeveral ages to regulate and aſcertain; a

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taſk which muſt be again begun, if the ſupreme magiſtrate has another title.

If he be urged, that this labour may be ſpared by one general act, declaring the power of the protector the ſame with that of our former kings, what then have we been contending for? A meer name! an empty ſound! yet a ſound of ſuch importance as to be preferred to the voice of the whole people. But this certainly will not be propoſed, becauſe if ſuch an act be public, all muſt be immediately convinced, that they are governed as before by a king; and therefore all objections to our antient conſtitution remain in their full ſtrength.

But indeed the long continuance of monarchy is an irrefragable proof, that in the opinion of the people there have hitherto ariſen no laſting or heavy calamities from it, and that therefore nothing can reaſonably be feared from reviving it, or can be produced by a total alteration of our conſtitution, and the apprehenſions which a new power, or new title, muſt certainly create; a title of which the import is unknow, and a power of which the limits are unſettled.

Antiquity, which to the wiſe and inquiſitive is often only a proof of general approbation, becomes to the vulgar a foundation for reverence. Inſtitutions and cuſtoms are long continued becauſe they are good, and are reverenced becauſe they have been long continued. Thus the danger of changing them grows every day greater, as the real uſefulneſs is always the ſame, and the accidental eſteem of them is always increaſing. To ſhew how much this regard to antiquity contributes to the the good order of the world, and how inevitably it ariſes from the preſent ſtate of things, is not at preſent requiſite; ſince experience may convince us of its influence, and the experience of our own times above any other, in which we have almoſt every day been changing the form of government, without having been able to ſatisfy either ourſelves or the

people. Whether any of the ſchemes that have been tried, were in themſelves preferable to that of monarchy, it is difficult to determine; but this at leaſt is obvious, if they were not preferable, monarchy ought to be reſtored; and if they were, there needs no farther proof of the affection of the people to the antient conſtitution, ſince they would be content with no other, tho' of greater excellence; but, after years ſpent in fruitleſs experiments, have returned back to monarchy with greater eagerneſs.

Nor was the diſapprobation of theſe new forms merely popular, but the reſult of long deliberation, and carful inquiry, in thoſe whoſe opinions ought moſt to be regarded in queſtions of this kind. Some of the judges themſelves, even of thoſe whoſe learning and integrity are above diſtruſt, refuſed to act by any other commiſſion than that of the king; and, as it was obſeved in our laſt conference, thoſe that complied, pleaded no other reaſon for their conduct, than neceſſity, a reaſon which can laſt no longer, ſince that neceſſity is now at an end.

Nor can it be wondered, that thoſe whoſe lives have been laid out upon the ſtudy of the laws, have conceived the ſtrongeſt ideas of the neceſſity of this title; a title ſuppoſed by the law ſo eſſential to our conſtitution, that the ceſſation of its influence, even for a few days, might ſubvert or endanger it, as the deſtruction of one of the elements would throw the natural world into confuſion. For this reaſon it is a fix'd principle, "That the king never dies," that the regal authority is never extinct, and that there has in effect been no more than one king ſince the firſt eſtabliſhment of monarchy. For during the time that the regal authority ſhould be ſuſpended, the law muſt ceaſe from its operations; no crime could be puniſhed, nor any queſtion of property be decided; all power to puniſh, and all authority to decide, being derived immediately from the king, whoſe office therefore cannot be abrogated: for no

authority

authority can be taken away but by a ſuperior power, and this nation has never known or acknowledged any power independent on that of the king. The authority of parliament, and the rights of the people, can boaſt no deeper foundation, or ſtronger eſtabliſhment. The power of parliament has no efficacy, but as it co-operates with that of the king, nor can one deſtroy the other without a general diſſolution of our government: theſe two concurrent powers are the eſſential parts of our conſtitution, which, when either of them ſhall ceaſe, is equally deſtroyed.

Theſe conſiderations are ſurely ſufficient to vindicate the judges, whom it would be to the laſt degree unreaſonable to blame, for their ſteady adherence to the laws, which it is the buſineſs of their office to maintain; but it is to be imagined, that the ſame motives influenced the bulk of the people to this general deſire, which was ſo apparently prevalent throughout the nation. General effects muſt have general cauſes, and nothing can influence the whole nation to demand the reſtoration of monarchy, but univerſal experience of the evils produced by the rejecting it; evils too evident to be concealed, and too heavy to be borne. One of theſe, and perhaps not the leaſt, is the interruption of juſtice, which has not been adminiſtred but by the aſſiſtance of the army, the laſt expedient that ought to be made uſe of.

That the laws did not loſe more of their authority, and juſtice was not more evaded, is indeed not to be aſcribed to the forms of government which theſe years of diſtraction have produced, but to the care, integrity, and reputation of thoſe men in whoſe hands the great offices were placed; who were reverenced by the people on account of their own characters, rather than from any regard to the powers by whom they were commiſſioned; powers which yeſterday produced, and which were expected to periſh to-morrow. For every title, except that

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of KING, which antiquity had made venerable, is conſidered only as the iſſue of momentary caprice, and ſubject to be changed by the inconſtancy that erected it, as ſoon as any inconvenience ſhall be diſcovered to ariſe from it; becauſe what is raiſed by one act of parliament, may, by another, be deſtroyed, and ſuch alterations it is reaſonable to expect: for as no form of government is without its defects, while it remains part of every man's right to propoſe a new ſcheme, which he will always think more beneficial than any other, every man that has any real or fanſied amendments to offer, will be impatient till they have been try'd, and will endeavour to facilitate the reception of them, by exaggerating the diſadvantages of the preſent plan, and heightening the diſcontents that ariſe from them. Thus ſhall we go on from change to change, from expedient to expedient. Thus ſhall we attempt to remove one evil by introducing another, and gain nothing by all our fatigues, perplexities, and ſufferings, but new conviction of the neceſſity of complying with the laws and the people.

It is indeed no great proof of regard to the nation, to deny any legal requeſt; perhaps more may be ſaid, without the leaſt deviation from truth and juſtice. The people, for whoſe ſake only government is conſtituted, have a right to ſettle the forms of it, and this petition is only an exertion of that natural privilege which cannot be forfeited. All government muſt derive its legality either from the choice of the people by whom it was eſtabliſhed, or from their conſent after its inſtitution: the preſent government was erected without their concurrence; and it is to be inquired, whether it be not now diſſolved by their petition to diſſolve it.

But whether this petition may be lawfully refuſed or not, prudence at leaſt requires, that it be complied with; for it is abſolutely neceſſary to the happineſs of any adminiſtration, that the people love and eſteem their governors. The ſupreme magiſtrate

giſtrate muſt therefore aſſume the title of KING, for no title that has not the ſanction of the parliament, and is therefore ſubject to an immediate change, can be equally reverenced with that which had been eſtabliſhed by the approbation of many generations, the authority of many parliaments, and which the experience of the whole nation has proved to be without thoſe dangers that may be juſtly ſuſpected in any new inſtitution, which can never be conſider'd in its whole extent, or purſued to all its conſequences.

Nor can the nation in this demand be charged with inconſtancy in their reſolutions, or inconſiſtency in their conduct: for that the war was begun not againſt the office of KING, but againſt the perſon of him who was then inveſted with it, and diſcharged it in a manner contrary to the intention for which he was intruſted with it, is apparent from four declarations of parliament; nor is it leſs known that the firſt breach of unanimity amongſt the friends of liberty was produced by the abolition of this title, and may therefore be probably repaired by the revival of it.

If it be urged, that the queſtion, which relates only to a name, be trifling and important; it may be replied, that the leſs is demanded, the greater contempt is ſhewn by a refuſal. That titles are more than empty ſounds, may be proved not only from the preſent diſpute, but from the antient conſtitutions, by which the title of KING was declared eſſential to the conſtitution, in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII. and yet a ſtronger proof of regard to titles, was given by the parliament of Henry the VIII. in which it was enacted, that the title of lord of Ireland ſhould be changed to that of KING, that the difficulties ariſing from the ambiguity of the title might be removed. Even the late convention, called together without the election or concurrence of the people, found the prejudice ariſing from mere titles of ſo great force, that they were

were obliged to aſſume the name of a parliament, that their determinations might eſcape contempt.

Thus the requeſt of the parliament appears not only reaſonable, but neceſſary; not only conſiſtent with the preſent diſpoſition of the people, but conformable to the ſentiments of all former acts: and certainly nothing ſhould produce a refuſal of ſuch a requeſt, except the impoſſibility of granting it.

But the objections raiſed by your highneſs ſeem very far from implying any neceſſity of declining the title ſo unanimouſly offer'd you, and ſo earneſtly preſſed upon you, being founded upon ſuppoſitions merely conjectural. For your firſt aſſertion, that the office does not neceſſarily require the ſame title, has been already conſidered; and it has been ſhewn, that there can be no reaſon in altering the title, if the power be the ſame; and that the ſupreme magiſtrate cannot be inveſted with new powers without endleſs confuſion, and incredible jealouſies. It is therefore of no great force to object, that many good men will be diſſatisfied with the revival of the title: for tho' it muſt be granted, that thoſe who have aſſiſted us in ſhaking off oppreſſion, have a claim to our gratitude; and that piety, tho' erroneous, deſerves indulgence; yet both gratitude and indulgence ought to be limited by reaſon. In things indifferent, conſiderations of tenderneſs and reſpect may turn the balance; but we have not a right to conſult the ſatisfaction of a few, however great their merits may have been, at the expence of the public tranquillity, and the happineſs of ſucceeding generations. The ſatisfaction of particulars may be endeavoured by particular proviſion; but if, in queſtions of univerſal importance, we have regard to any thing but univerſal good, and the great laws of reaſon and juſtice, we ſhall be toſſed in endleſs uncertainty. "He that obſerveth the wind ſhall "never ſow, and he that regardeth the clouds ſhall "never reap." He that attends to mutable circumſtances, and waits till nothing ſhall oppoſe his intention,

tention, ſhall deſign for ever without execution. When are we to hope for ſettlement, if general unanimity muſt introduce it? Whatever ſhall be determined, multitudes will ſtill remain diſſatisfied, becauſe men's opinions will always be various. It was not with univerſal approbation that the title of protector was aſſumed, or that any change has hitherto been made; but ſince ſome diſcontent will always be found, whatever meaſures ſhall be taken, let not the ſatisfaction of private men be preferr'd to that of the parliament, to the determination of which all good men will readily ſubmit.

Still leſs weight has the objection drawn by your highneſs from the viſible diſpenſation of providence of which we know too little to direct our actions by them, in oppoſition to evident reaſon, to certain facts, and revealed precepts; lights which we always are commanded to uſe, and of which the two firſt can ſeldom, and the laſt never deceive us. If we conſider this poſition, that becauſe providence has once blaſted the title of KING, or ſuffer'd it to be blaſted, it is therefore never to be revived, it will ſoon appear, that we cannot admit it in its whole extent, and purſue it through all its conſequences, without involving ourſelves in endleſs diffculties, and condemning our own conduct.

If Providence hath blaſted the office of KING, how can it be proved, that the ſupreme power, in any ſingle head, under whatſoever title, ever the power which you now poſſeſs, is not equally interdicted? The acts of parliament extend equally to all titles, and declare againſt manarchy under every name.

But the conſequences of this propoſition do not terminate in this inconſiſtency of conduct, but extend equally to every determination; for if what has been once deſtroy'd by Providence be for ever after interdicted, what will remain of which the uſe is lawful? what is there of which we have not at ſome time been deprived by Providence, or which

Providence

Providence has not at ſome time made the inſtrument of our puniſhment? May not the diſſolution of the long parliament be interpreted as a blaſt from heaven with equal juſtice, and the people be repreſented no more? But in reality, the proceedings of Providence are not intended as the rules of action; we are left to govern our own lives by virtue and by prudence. When a form of government is deſtroyed, for juſt reaſons it is blaſted by Providence, and loſes its efficacy; when with equal reaſons it is reſtored, then Providence again ſmiles upon it, and the ſanction of heaven renews its validity. If royalty was deſtroyed by Providence, who can deny, that the ſame Providence directs it to be revived? Is not the reſolution of the parliament equally a proof on either ſide? or have we any arguments to prove, that the people co-operate with Providence leſs when they require than when they reject a KING? Let us wave ſuch inconcluſive arguments, and dubious conjectures; and guide ourſelves by the ſteady light of religion, reſon, and experience. That a juſt demand is not to be refuſed, religion will inform us: reaſon will teach us, that magiſtrate is to conform to the laws, and not the laws yield to the magiſtrate; and the experience of many ages may inſtruct us, that the KING has nothing to fear from compliance with the parliament. At leaſt if any danger ſhould ariſe from the meaſures now propoſed, it will ariſe from the performance, not neglect of our duty; and we may therefore encounter it with that reſolution which a conſciouſneſs of the approbation of God ought to inſpire.

The PROTECTOR's final anſwer.

N. B. This diſcourſe is in many parts remarkably obſcure, as well from the negligence and ignorance of the copiers and printers, as from frequent alluſions to occurrences known to the perſons with whom Cromwell was conferring, but not mentioned in any hiſtory which it is now in our power

power to conſult; we have therefore collected ſuch of the arguments as we can apprehend the full meaning of, and have omitted ſome unintelligible paſſages, and others which related to other articles in the petition.

On the 26th of April (*and in another conference* May 11) *the protector made the following reply:*

My lords,

HAVING ſeriouſly reflected on the demand of the parliament, and the learned arguments produced by the committee to ſupport it, I think it unreaſonable any longer to delay ſuch a reply as it is in my power to make, becauſe it is both due to the great body by whom you are deputed, and neceſſary to the diſpatch of publick affairs, which ſeem to be entirely ſuſpended, and to wait for the deciſion of this queſtion; a queſtion which I cannot yet think of ſo much importance as it is repreſented and conceived.

The arguments produced in the laſt conference I ſhall not waſte time in repeating, becauſe they were little different from thoſe formerly produced; only graced with new decorations, and enforced with ſome new inſtances. With reſpect to the chief reaſon, the known nature of the title of KING, the fix'd and ſtated bound of the authority imply'd by it, its propriety with regard to the laws, and the veneration paid to it by the people, I have nothing to add, nor think any thing neceſſary beyond what I have already offered. I am convinced, that your authority is ſufficient to give validity to any adminiſtration, and to add dignity to any title, without the concurrence of antient forms, or the ſanction of hereditary prejudices.

All government intends the good of the people, and that government is therefore beſt by which their good may be moſt effectually promoted; we are therefore, in eſtabliſhing the chief magiſtracy of theſe

kingdoms, chiefly to enquire, what form, or what title will be moſt willingly admitted; and this diſcovery being once made, it will eaſily be eſtabliſhed by a ſingle act of parliament, concurring with the general deſire of the people.

It may indeed be urged, that in rejecting the title of KING, I deny the requeſt of the parliament, and treat the repreſentatives of the people with a degree of diſregard, which no king of *England* ever diſcover'd. But let it be conſider'd how much my ſtate differs from that of a legal king, claiming the crown by inheritance, or exalted to ſupreme authority by the parliament, and governing by fix'd laws in a ſettled eſtabliſhment. I hold the ſupreme power by no other title than that of neceſſity. I aſſumed the authority with which I ſtand inveſted, at a time when immediate ruin was falling down upon us, which no other man durſt attempt to prevent; when oppoſite factions were ruſhing into war, becauſe no man dared to interpoſe, and command peace. What were the dangers that threatened us, and upon what principles the factious and diſobedient attempted to interrupt the puclick tranquility, it may not be improper at this time to explain.

The parliament, which had ſo vigorouſly withſtood the encroachments of the regal power, became themſelves too deſirous of abſolute authority; and not only engroſs'd the legiſlative, but uſurp'd the executive power. All cauſes, civil and criminal, all queſtions of property and right, were determined by committees, who, being themſelves the legiſlature, were accountable to no law; and for that reaſon their decrees were arbitrary, and their proceedings violent; oppreſſion was without redreſs, and unjuſt ſentence without appeal. All the buſineſs of all the courts of *Weſtminſter* was tranſacted in this manner, and the hardſhips were ſtill more lamented, becauſe there was no proſpect of either end or intermiſſion; for the parliament was ſo far from intending to reſign this unlimited authority, that they had formed

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a reſolution of perpetuating their tyranny; and, apprehending no poſſibility of a diſſolution by any other power, determin'd never to diſſolve themſelves.

Such and ſo oppreſſive was the government plann'd out to us, and for our poſterity; and under theſe calamities muſt we ſtill have languiſh'd, had not the ſame army which repreſſed the inſolence of monarchy, relieved us with the ſame ſpirit from the tyranny of a perpetual parliament, a tyranny which was equally illegal and oppreſſive.

When, after their dangers and labours, their battles and their wounds, they had leiſure to obſerve the government which they had eſtabliſhed at ſo much expence, they ſoon perceived, that unleſs they made one regulation more, and cruſhed this many-headed tyranny, they had hitherto ventured their lives to little purpoſe, and had, inſtead of aſſerting their own and the people's liberty, only changed one kind of ſlavery for another.

They therefore diſſolved the parliament, which would never have diſſolved itſelf; and that the nation might not fall into its former ſtate of confuſion, entreated me to aſſume the ſupreme authority, under the title of PROTECTOR; a title which implies not any legal power of governing in my own right, but a truſt conſign'd to me for the advantage of another; this truſt I have faithfully diſcharged, and, whenever the means of ſettling the publick ſhall be found, am ready to give an account of it, and reſign it.

The neceſſity which compelled me to accept it, was, indeed, not wholly produced by the illegal reſolutions of the parliament, but was much heighten'd by the ungovernable fury of wild fanaticks, and tumultuous factions, who, to eſtabliſh their new ſchemes, would have ſpread ſlaughter and deſolation thro' the kingdom, and ſpared nothing, however cruel or unjuſt, that might have propagated their own opinions.

Of theſe, ſome were for abrogating all our ſtatutes, and aboliſhing all our cuſtoms, and introduce-

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ing the judicial law of *Moſes* as the only rule of judgment, and ſtandard of equity. Of this law every man was to be his own interpreter, and conſequently was allowed to judge according to his paſſions, prejudices, or ignorance, without appeal. Every man was then to commence legiſlator; for to make laws, and to interpret them for his own uſe, is nearly the ſame.

Another ſet of men there was, who were yet more profeſſedly for inveſting every man with the power of determining his own claims, and judging of his own actions; for, it was among them a principle fixed and uncontrovertible, that all magiſtracy was forbidden by God, and therefore unlawful and deteſtable.

It is unneceſſary to ſay what muſt have been the ſtate of a nation, in which either of theſe parties had exalted themſelves to power, and how uſefully that man was employed, who, ſtepping on a ſudden into a ſtate of dominion, had ſpirit to controul, and power to ſuppreſs them.

The reproaches thrown upon my conduct by the ignorant or ill-affected, I ſometimes hear, but with the neglect and ſcorn which they deſerve; I am acquitted by my own conſcience, and I hope by the beſt and wiſeſt men. I am convinc'd, that I was called by Providence to the power which I poſſeſs, and know that I deſire it no longer than it is neceſſary for the preſervation of peace, and the ſecurity of liberty, that liberty which I have never violated, and that peace, which amidſt murmurs and diſcontents, threats and complaints, I have yet never ſuffer'd to be broken: That I aſpire to unlimited authority, and therefore aſſume a title unknown to the nation, is a reproach eaſily caſt, and as eaſily contemned; my power has been the offspring of neceſſity, and its extent has been bounded only by the occaſions of exerting it. If a ſettlement is now propoſed, and previouſly to it, a legal eſtabliſhment of my authority, it may be limited by you. Under what-

whatever title it ſhall be conferred upon me, that title will then be valid, and thoſe limitations cannot be tranſgreſſed.

May 11.] With regard to the particular TITLE which you have ſo warmly recommended to me, I cannot yet prevail upon myſelf to accept it. When I conſider your arguments, I cannot find them inevitably concluſive; and when I examine my own conſcience in ſolitude, I find it yet unſatisfy'd. The deſire of parliament is indeed a powerful motive; but the deſire of parliament cannot alter the nature of things; it may determine me, in things indifferent, to chuſe one rather than another; but it cannot make thoſe actions lawful which God has forbidden, nor oblige me to do what, tho' perhaps lawful in itſelf, is not lawful in my private judgment.

Upon the calmeſt reflection, I am convinced, that I cannot, without a crime, comply with their demand; and therefore, as I am far from believing, that thoſe who ſit for no other end than to preſerve the liberty of the nation, can deſign any infraction of mine, I declare that I cannot undertake the adminiſtration of the government under the title of KING.

POEMS *on* OLIVER CROMWELL, *by Mr.* Waller, *Mr.* Dryden, *and Mr.* Locke.

A Panegyric to OLIVER CROMWELL, *lord protector. Of the preſent greatneſs, and joint-intereſt of his highneſs, and this nation.*

By Edmund Waller, *Eſq*; *in the Year* 1654.

WHILE with a ſtrong, and yet a gentle hand,
You bridle faction, and our hearts command;
Protect us from ourſelves, and from the foe;
Make us unite, and make us conquer too;
Let partial ſpirits ſtill aloud complain;
Think themſelves injur'd, that they cannot reign;
And own no liberty, but where they may,
Without controul, upon their fellows prey.

Above

Above the waves as Neptune ſhew'd his face,
To chide the winds, and ſave the Trojan race;
So has your highneſs (rais'd above the reſt)
Storms of ambition toſſing us repreſt.
Your drooping country, torn by civil hate,
Reſtor'd by you; is made a glorious ſtate;
The ſeat of empire, where the *Iriſh* come,
And the unwilling *Scot*, to fetch their doom.
The ſea's our own, and now all nations greet,
With bending ſails, each veſſel of our fleet.
Your pow'r reſounds, as far as winds can blow,
Or ſwelling ſails upon the globe may go.
Heav'n, that has plac'd this iſland to give law,
To balance *Europe*, and her ſtates to awe,
In this conjunction does on *Britain* ſmile,
The greateſt leader to the greateſt iſle.
Whether this portion of the world were rent
By the wide ocean from the continent,
Or thus created; it was ſure deſign'd
To be the ſacred refuge of mankind.
Hither th'oppreſſed ſhall henceforth reſort,
Juſtice to crave, and ſuccour, of your court;
And ſhew your highneſs, not for ours alone,
But for the world's protector ſhall be known.
Fame ſwifter than your winged navy flies
Thro' ev'ry land that near the ocean lies,
Sounding your name, and telling dreadful news
To all that piracy and rapine uſe.
With ſuch a chief the meaneſt nation bleſt,
Might hope to lift her head above the reſt:
What may be thought impoſſible to do
For us, embraced by the ſea and you?
Lords of the world's great waſte, the ocean, we
Whole foreſts ſend to reign upon the ſea;
And ev'ry coaſt may trouble and relieve,
But none can viſit us without your leave.
Angels and we have this prerogative,
That none can at our happy ſeat arrive;
While we deſcend at pleaſure, to invade
The bad with vengeance, or the good to aid.

Our

Our little world, the image of the great,
Like that, amidſt the boundleſs ocean ſet,
Of her own growth has all that nature craves,
And all that's rare, as tribute from the waves.
As *Egypt* does not on the clouds rely,
But to the *Nile* owes more than to the ſky:
So what our heav'n, or what our earth denies,
Our ever conſtant friend the ſea ſupplies.
The taſte of hot *Arabia*'s ſpice we know,
Free from the ſcorching ſun that makes it grow:
Without the worm in *Perſian* ſilks we ſhine,
And without planting, drink of ev'ry vine.
To dig for wealth we weary not our limbs;
Gold, tho' the heavieſt metal, hither ſwims.
Ours is the harveſt where the *Indians* mow;
We plough the deep, and reap what others ſow.
Things of the nobleſt kind our own ſoil breeds;
Stout are our men, and warlike are our ſteeds:
Rome, tho' her eagle thro' the world had flown,
Could never make this iſland all her own.
Here the third *Edward*, and the *Black Prince* too,
France-conquering *Henry* flouriſh'd, and now You;
For whom we ſtay'd, as did the *Grecian* ſtate,
Till *Alexander* came to urge their fate.
When for more worlds that *Macedonian* cry'd,
He wiſt not *Thetis* in her lap did hide
Another yet, a world reſerv'd for you,
To make more great than that he did ſubdue.
He ſafely might old troops to battle lead
Againſt th'unwarlike *Perſian*, or the *Mede*,
Whoſe haſty flight did from a bloodleſs field
More ſpoil than honour to the victor yield.
A race unconquer'd, by their clime made bold,
The *Caledonians*, arm'd with want and cold,
Have, by a fate indulgent to your fame,
Been from all ages kept for you to tame.
Whom the old *Roman* wall ſo ill confin'd,
With a new chain of garriſons you bind:
Here foreign gold no more ſhall make them come,
Our *Engliſh* iron holds them faſt at home.

They

They that henceforth muſt be content to know
No warmer regions than their hills of ſnow,
May blame the ſun, but muſt extol your grace,
Which in our ſenate hath allow'd them place.
Preferr'd by conqueſt, happily o'erthrown,
Falling they riſe, to be with us made one:
So kind dictators made, when they came home,
Their vanquiſh'd foes free citizens of *Rome*.

Like favour find the *Iriſh*, with like fate
Advanc'd to be a portion of our ſtate;
While by your valour, and your bounteous mind,
Nations, divided by the ſea, are join'd.

Holland, to gain your friendſhip, is content
To be our out-guard on the continent:
She from her fellow-provinces would go,
Rather than hazard to have you her foe.
In our late fight, when cannons did diffuſe,
Preventing poſts, the terror of the news,
Our neighbour-princes trembled at their roar;
But our conjunction makes them tremble more.

Your never-failing ſword made war to ceaſe,
And now you heal us with the arts of peace;
Our minds with bounty and with awe engage,
Unite affections, and reſtrain our rage.
Leſs pleaſure take brave minds in battle won,
Than in reſtoring ſuch as are undone:
Tygers have courage, and the rugged bear;
But man alone can whom he conquers ſpare.
To pardon willing, and to puniſh loth,
You ſtrike with one hand, but you heal with both:
Lifting up all that proſtrate lie, you grieve
You cannot make the dead again to live.

When fate or error had our age miſled,
And o'er theſe nations ſuch confuſion ſpread,
The only cure which could from heav'n come down,
Was ſo much pow'r and clemency in one:
One, whoſe extraction from an antient line,
Gives hope again, that well-born men may ſhine:
The meaneſt, in your nature mild and good,
The noble reſt ſecured in your blood.

Oft

Oft have we wonder'd, how you hid in peace
A mind proportion'd to ſuch things as theſe:
How ſuch a ruling ſpirit could reſtrain,
And practiſe firſt over yourſelf to reign.
Your private life did a juſt pattern give,
How fathers, huſbands, pious ſons ſhould live:
Born to command, your princely virtues ſlept
Like humble *David*'s, whilſt the flock he kept.
But when your troubled country call'd you forth,
Your flaming courage, and your matchleſs worth,
Dazling the eyes of all that did pretend,
To fierce contention gave a proſp'rous end.
Still as you riſe, the ſtate, exalted too,
Finds no diſtemper while it's chang'd by you;
Chang'd like the world's great ſcene, when without
The riſing ſun night's vulgar lights deſtroys. (noiſe
Had you ſome ages paſt this race of glory
Run, with amazement we ſhould read your ſtory:
But living virtue, all atchievements paſt,
Meets envy ſtill to grapple with at laſt.
This *Cæſar* found; and that ungrateful age,
With loſing him, fell back to blood and rage.
Miſtaken *Brutus* thought to break their yoke,
But cut the bond of union at that ſtroke.
That ſun once ſet, a thouſand meaner ſtars
Gave a dim light to violence and wars;
To ſuch a tempeſt as now threatens all,
Did not your mighty arm prevent the fall.
If *Rome*'s great ſenate could not wield the ſword,
Which of the conquer'd world had made them lord;
What hope had ours, while yet their pow'r was new,
To rule victorious armies, but by you?
You, who had taught them to ſubdue their foes,
Could order teach, and all their hearts compoſe;
To ev'ry duty could their minds engage,
Provoke their courage, and command their rage.
So when a lion ſhakes his dreadful mane,
And angry grows, if he that firſt took pain
To tame his youth, approach the haughty beaſt,
He bends to him, but frights away the reſt.

As the vext world, to find repoſe at laſt,
Itſelf into *Auguſtus'* arm did caſt:
So *England* now does, with like toil oppreſt,
Her weary head upon your boſom reſt.
Then let the muſes, with ſuch notes as theſe,
Inſtruct us what belongs unto our peace;
Your battles they hereafter ſhall indite,
And draw the image of our *Mars* in fight;
Tell of towns ſtorm'd, of armies over-run,
And mighty kingdoms by your conduct won;
How, while you thunder'd, clouds of duſt did choak
Contending troops, and ſeas lay hid in ſmoke.
Illuſtrious arts high raptures do infuſe,
And ev'ry conqueror creates a muſe:
Here in low ſtrains your milder deeds we ſing;
But there, my lord, we'll bays and olives bring
To crown your head; while you in triumph ride
O'er vanquiſh'd nations, and the ſea beſide;
While all your neighbour-princes unto you,
Like *Joſeph*'s ſheaves, pay reverence, and bow.

To Oliver Cromwell; by mr. *John Locke.*

A Peaceful ſway the great *Auguſtus* bore,
O'er what great *Julius* gain'd by arms before.
Julius was all with martial trophies crown'd;
Auguſtus for his peaceful arts renown'd,
Rome calls them great, and makes them deities;
That, for his valour; this, his policies.
You, mighty prince, than both are greater far,
Who rule, in peace, that world you gain'd by war:
You ſure from heav'n a finiſh'd hero fell,
Who thus alone two pagan gods excel.

Heroic ſtanzas on the late protector Oliver Cromwell.
Written after his funeral, by mr. Dryden.

AND now 'tis time; for their officious haſte,
Who would before have borne him to the ſky,
Like eager *Romans*, e'er all rites were paſt,
Did let too ſoon the ſacred eagle fly.

Though

Though our beſt notes are treaſon to his fame,
Join'd with the loud applauſe of public voice;
Since heav'n, what praiſe we offer to his name,
Hath render'd too authentic by its choice:

Though in his praiſe no arts can lib'ral be,
Since they whoſe muſes have the higheſt flown,
Add not to his immortal memory,
But do an act of friendſhip to their own:

Yet 'tis our duty, and our int'reſt too,
Such monuments as we can build, to raiſe,
Leſt all the world prevent what we ſhou'd do,
And claim a title in him by their praiſe.

How ſhall I then begin, or where conclude,
To draw a fame ſo truly circular?
For in a round what order can be ſhew'd,
Where all the parts ſo equal perfect are?

His grandeur he deriv'd from heav'n alone;
For he was great e'er fortune made him ſo;
And wars, like miſts that riſe againſt the ſun,
Made him but greater ſeem, but greater grow.

No borrow'd bays his temples did adorn,
But to our crown he did freſh jewels bring:
Nor was his virtue poiſon'd, ſoon as born,
With the too early thoughts of being king.

Fortune (that eaſy miſtreſs to the young,
But to her antient ſervants coy and hard)
Him, at that age, her fav'rites rank'd among,
When ſhe her beſt-lov'd *Pompey* did diſcard.

He, private, mark'd the faults of others ſway,
And ſet as ſea-marks for himſelf to ſhun;
Not like raſh monarchs, who their youth betray,
By acts their age too late would wiſh undone.

And yet dominion was not his deſign;
We owe that bleſſing not to him, but heav'n,
Which to fair acts unſought rewards did join;
Rewards that leſs to him than us were giv'n.

Our

Our former chiefs, like ſticklers of the war,
Firſt ſought t'inflame the parties, then to poiſe;
The quarrel lov'd, but did the cauſe abhor,
And did not ſtrike to hurt, but make a noiſe.

War, our conſumption, was their gainful trade:
He inward bled, whilſt they prolong'd our pain;
He fought to hinder fighting, and aſſay'd
To ſtanch the blood by breathing of the vein.

Swift and reſiſtleſs thro' the land he paſt,
Like that bold *Greek* who did the eaſt ſubdue,
And made to battles ſuch heroic haſte,
As if on wings of victory he flew.

He fought ſecure of fortune as of fame:
Still by new maps the iſland might be ſhown,
Of conqueſts which he ſtrew'd where'er he came,
Thick as the Galaxy with ſtars is ſown.

His palms, tho' under weights they did not ſtand,
Still thriv'd; no winter could his laurels fade;
Heav'n in his portrait ſhew'd a workman's hand,
And drew it perfect, tho' without a ſhade.

Peace was the prize of all his toil and care,
Which war had baniſh'd, and did now reſtore:
Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air,
To ſeat themſelves more ſurely than before.

Her ſafety reſcu'd *Ireland* to him owes,
And treach'rous *Scotland*, to no int'reſt true;
Yet bleſs'd that fate which did his arms diſpoſe
Her land to civilize, as to ſubdue.

Nor was he like thoſe ſtars, which only ſhine
When to pale mariners they ſtorms portend;
He had his calmer influence, and his mein
Did love and majeſty together blend.

'Tis true, his count'nance did imprint an awe,
And nat'rally all ſouls to his did bow;
As wands of divination downward draw,
And point to bed where ſov'reign gold doth grow.

When,

When, paſt all off'rings to feretrian *Jove*,
He *Mars* depos'd, and arms to gowns made yield;
Succeſsful councils did him ſoon approve
As fit for cloſe intrigues, as open field.

To ſuppliant *Holland* he vouchſaf'd a peace,
Our once bold rival in the *Britiſh* main,
Now tamely glad her unjuſt claim to ceaſe,
And buy our friendſhip with her idol, gain.

Fame of th'aſſerted ſea, thro' *Europe* blown,
Made *France* and *Spain* ambitious of his love;
Each knew that ſide muſt conquer he would own;
And for him fiercely, as for empire, ſtrove.

No ſooner was the *Frenchman*'s cauſe embrac'd,
Than the light monſieur the grave don outweigh'd:
His fortune turn'd the ſcale where it was caſt,
Tho' *Indian* mines were in the other laid.

When abſent, yet we conquer'd in his right:
For tho' that ſome mean artiſt's ſkill were ſhown
In mingling colours, or in placing light;
Yet ſtill the fair deſignment was his own:

For from all tempers he could ſervice draw;
The worth of each with its allay he knew;
And, as the confident of nature, ſaw,
How ſhe complexions did divide and brew.

Or he their ſingle virtues did ſurvey,
By intuition in his own large breaſt,
Where all the rich ideas of them lay,
That were the rule and meaſure to the reſt.

When ſuch heroic virtue heav'n ſets out
The ſtars, like commons, ſullenly obey;
Becauſe it drains them when it comes about;
And therefore is a tax they ſeldom pay.

From this high ſpring our foreign conqueſts flow,
Which yet more glorious triumph do portend,
Since their commencement to his arms they owe,
If ſprings as high as fountains may aſcend.

He

He made us freemen of the continent,
Whom nature did like captives treat before;
To nobler preys the *Engliſh* lion ſent,
And taught him firſt in Belgian walks to roar.

That old unqueſtion'd pirate of the land,
Proud *Rome*, with dread the fate of *Dunkirk* heard;
And trembling wiſh'd behind more *Alps* to ſtand,
Altho' an *Alexander* were her guard.

By his command, we boldly croſs'd the line,
And bravely fought where ſouthern ſtars ariſe;
We trac'd the far-fetch'd gold unto the mine,
And that which brib'd our fathers made our prize.

Such was our prince; yet own'd a ſoul above
The higheſt acts it could produce or ſhew;
Thus poor mechanic arts in publick move,
Whilſt the deep ſecrets beyond practice go.

Nor died he when his ebbing fame went leſs,
But when freſh laurels courted him to live;
He ſeem'd but to prevent ſome new ſucceſs,
As if above what triumphs earth can give.

His lateſt victories ſtill thickeſt came,
As near the centre motion doth encreaſe;
Till he, preſs'd down by his own weighty name,
Did, like the veſtal, under ſpoils deceaſe.

But firſt the ocean, as a tribute, ſent
That giant prince of all her wat'ry herd;
And th'iſle, when her protecting genius went,
Upon his obſequies loud ſighs conferr'd.

No civil broils have ſince his death aroſe;
But faction now by habit does obey;
And wars have that reſpect for his repoſe,
As winds for Halcyons, when they breed at ſea.

His aſhes in a peaceful urn ſhall reſt,
His name a great example ſtands to ſhow,
How ſtrangely high endeavours may be bleſt,
Where piety and valour jointly go.

Upon

Upon the late ſtorm, and the death of the protector Oliver Cromwell, *enſuing the ſame. By mr.* Waller.

WE muſt reſign! heav'n his great ſoul does claim,
In ſtorms as loud as his immortal fame!
His dying groans, his laſt breath ſhakes our iſle,
And trees uncut fall for his fun'ral pile!
About his palace their broad roots are toſt
Into the air: ſo *Romulus* was loſt.
New *Rome* in ſuch a tempeſt miſs'd their king,
And from obeying fell to worſhipping.
On *Oeta's* top thus *Hercules* lay dead,
With ruin'd oaks and pines about him ſpread:
The poplar too, whoſe bough he wont to wear
On his victorious head, lay proſtrate there.
Thoſe his laſt fury from the mountain rent:
Our dying hero, from the continent,
Raviſh'd whole towns; and forts, from *Spaniards* reft,
As his laſt legacy to *Britain* left.
The ocean, which ſo long our hopes confin'd,
Could give no limits to his vaſter mind;
Our bounds enlargement was his lateſt toil,
Nor hath he left us pris'ners to our iſle:
Under the tropic is our language ſpoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.
From civil broils he did us diſengage;
Found nobler objects for our martial rage;
And, with wiſe conduct, to his country ſhew'd
Their antient way of conquering abroad.
Ungrateful then, if we no more allow
To him, that gave us peace and empire too.
Princes that fear'd him, griev'd, concern'd to ſee
No pitch of glory from the grave is free.
Nature herſelf took notice of his death,
And, ſighing, ſwell'd the ſea with ſuch a breath;
That to remoteſt ſhores her billows roll'd,
Th'approaching fate of her great ruler told.

FINIS.

On reading this admirable Book. A. D. 1756.

All hail Thou Genius of Britannia's Fate
Guide of her Helm and Pilot of her State!
Great Guardian-Angel of her latest Hopes:
By Thee reviving at Thy Foot She stoops:
Offers Thee all the Honours of her Fame:
Thy Hand her Shadow & her Shield thy Name
While to her Sons thy Arm Deliverance brings;
And with the Crime blots out the Name of Kings!